



This is a digital copy of a book that was preserved for generations on library shelves before it was carefully scanned by Google as part of a project to make the world's books discoverable online.

It has survived long enough for the copyright to expire and the book to enter the public domain. A public domain book is one that was never subject to copyright or whose legal copyright term has expired. Whether a book is in the public domain may vary country to country. Public domain books are our gateways to the past, representing a wealth of history, culture and knowledge that's often difficult to discover.

Marks, notations and other marginalia present in the original volume will appear in this file - a reminder of this book's long journey from the publisher to a library and finally to you.

Usage guidelines

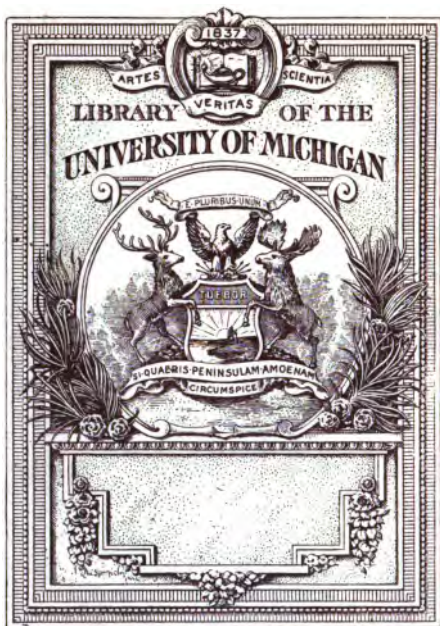
Google is proud to partner with libraries to digitize public domain materials and make them widely accessible. Public domain books belong to the public and we are merely their custodians. Nevertheless, this work is expensive, so in order to keep providing this resource, we have taken steps to prevent abuse by commercial parties, including placing technical restrictions on automated querying.

We also ask that you:

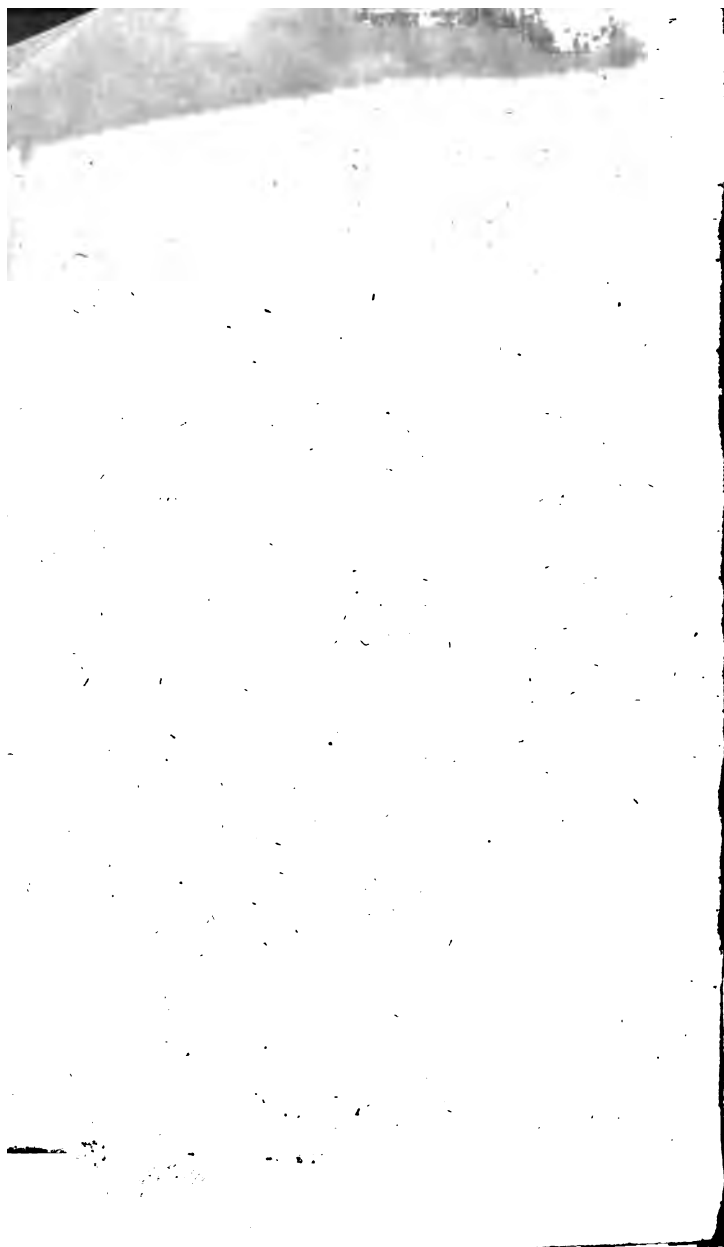
- + *Make non-commercial use of the files* We designed Google Book Search for use by individuals, and we request that you use these files for personal, non-commercial purposes.
- + *Refrain from automated querying* Do not send automated queries of any sort to Google's system: If you are conducting research on machine translation, optical character recognition or other areas where access to a large amount of text is helpful, please contact us. We encourage the use of public domain materials for these purposes and may be able to help.
- + *Maintain attribution* The Google "watermark" you see on each file is essential for informing people about this project and helping them find additional materials through Google Book Search. Please do not remove it.
- + *Keep it legal* Whatever your use, remember that you are responsible for ensuring that what you are doing is legal. Do not assume that just because we believe a book is in the public domain for users in the United States, that the work is also in the public domain for users in other countries. Whether a book is still in copyright varies from country to country, and we can't offer guidance on whether any specific use of any specific book is allowed. Please do not assume that a book's appearance in Google Book Search means it can be used in any manner anywhere in the world. Copyright infringement liability can be quite severe.

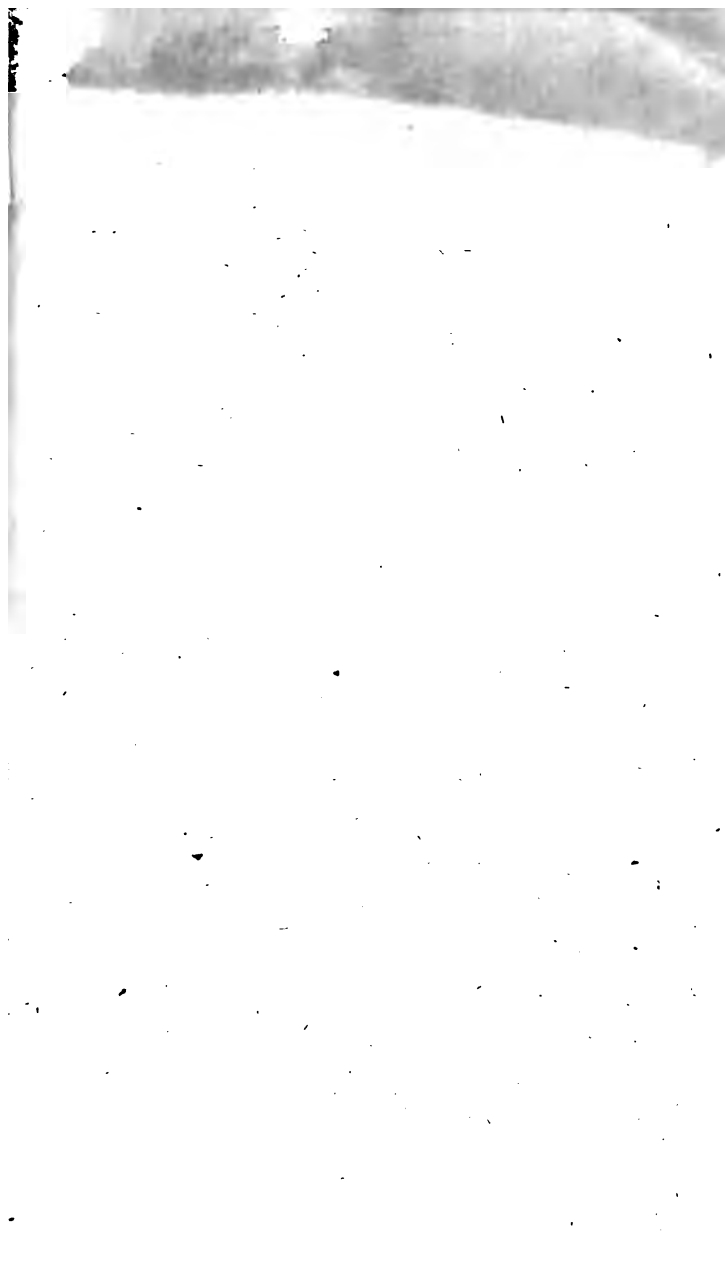
About Google Book Search

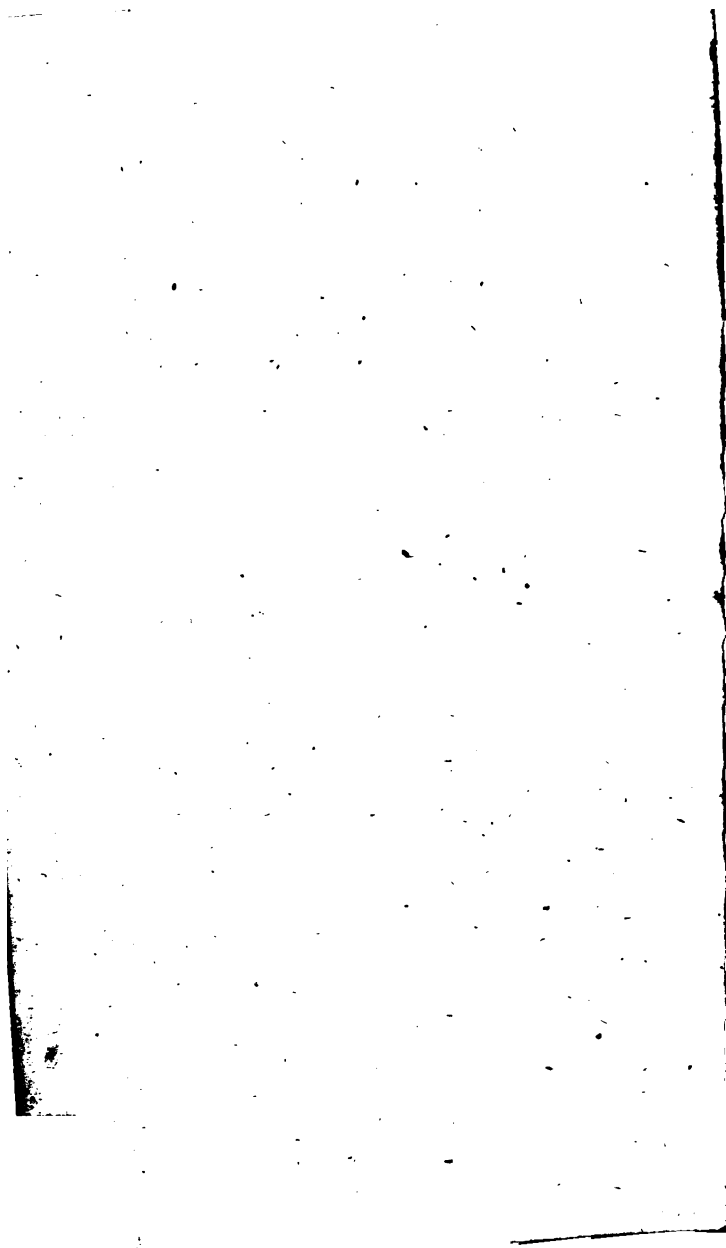
Google's mission is to organize the world's information and to make it universally accessible and useful. Google Book Search helps readers discover the world's books while helping authors and publishers reach new audiences. You can search through the full text of this book on the web at <http://books.google.com/>



DC
122.9
.S9
A33
1763







M E M O I R S

O F

The D U K E of S U L L Y.

[illegible]

M E M O I R S
O F
MAXIMILIAN DE BETHUNE,
DUKE OF SULLY,
PRIME MINISTER TO
HENRY THE GREAT.

C O N T A I N I N G

The History of the LIFE and REIGN of that MONARCH,
And his own ADMINISTRATION under Him.

Translated from the FRENCH.

To which is added,

The TRYAL of RAVAILLAC for the Murder of
HENRY THE GREAT.

I N S I X V O L U M E S.

T H E F O U R T H E D I T I O N.

V O L. III.

L O N D O N :

Printed for A. MILLAR, in the Strand; R. and J. DOWSLER, in
Pall-Mall; and W. SHROPSHIRE, in New-Bond-Street,

M.DCC.LXIII.

1875

10

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

1875

A
S U M M A R Y
O F T H E

Books contained in the THIRD VOLUME.

SUMMARY of the ELEVENTH BOOK:

MEMOIRS from the year 1599 to 1601.
Affairs of the marquísate of Saluces. Artifices of the duke of Savoy to avoid making a restitution of Saluces. Journey of Henry IV. to Blois. Dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois: his amours with mademoiselle d'Entragues, who persuades him to give her a promise of marriage: the courage and resolution of Rosny on this occasion. Articles of marriage with the princess of Florence concluded. Foreign affairs. Rosny takes upon him the guardianship of his nephew d'Epinoy. Revocation of the permission for manufacturing rich stuffs.

S U M M A R Y.

stuffs. Rosny is made grand master of the ordnance, and gives great application to the affairs of this post. The duke of Savoy comes to Paris; brings over the courtiers to his interest; endeavours to bribe Rosny, and afterwards to exclude him from the conferences; but fails in both attempts, and returns home. Nicole Mignon attempts to poison the king. A public dispute betwixt the bishop d'Evreux and Du Plessis-Mothay. New subterfuges of the duke of Savoy: reasons for declaring war against him; preparations made by Rosny for this war. Henry IV. marries the princess of Florence by proxy: takes Chambéry, Bourg, Montmélian, Charbonniers, &c. Other particulars of this campaign: great services performed there by Rosny, notwithstanding the jealousy and opposition of the courtiers. Cardinal Aldobrandin comes to negotiate a peace; Rosny's reception of him: the conferences broken off by the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine: resumed by Rosny; who concludes the treaty. The queen comes to Paris, and is received by Rosny at the Arsenal. Foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the TWELFTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1661. Affairs of the finances; of money; of commerce, &c. Prohibition against carrying gold or silver coin out of the kingdom. Chamber of justice established, but to little purpose. The author's reflections upon luxury and corruption of manners. The officers of the robe

S U M M A R Y.

robe and finances suppressed. Journey of Henry IV. to Orleans. Affairs of the United Provinces. Henry goes to Calais. The French ambassador insulted at Madrid. Embassies from the Grand Seigneur and the Venetians. Elizabeth comes to Dover. Letters betwixt Henry and Elizabeth. Rosny goes to Dover. Conversations between Elizabeth and Rosny, in which they lay the foundation of the great design against the house of Austria: the great wisdom of this queen. Death of young Châtillon-Coligny. Birth of Lewis XIII. Henry makes La-Riviere calculate his nativity. The affair of the Isles concluded with the grand duke of Tuscany. Rosny procures the count of Bethune to be named ambassador to Rome, notwithstanding the endeavours of Villeroi and Sillery to the contrary. Opposition made by these ministers to the opinions and policy of Rosny. Particulars of the conspiracy of marechal Biron: Rosny endeavours to recal him to his duty: Henry sends him ambassador to London; to Sweden: he resumes his intrigues at his return. La-Fin's depositions. An account of the pretended Don Sebastian; and other foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the THIRTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1602. Foreign princes at Paris. Henry IV. goes to Blois: the occasion of his journey. An account of marechal Biron's conspiracy: a council held at Blois upon this occasion. A design formed to arrest the dukes of
Epernon

S U M M A R Y.

Epemon and Bouillon: the first clears his conduct; the great art and address of the second. Quarrels between the king and queen: Henry's conversation with Rosny upon this subject. The effects of Henry's journey into the provinces: he resolves to have Biron arrested: particulars of his and the count d'Auvergne's imprisonment; and of Biron's trial and execution: Rosny's behaviour throughout this affair. Henry pardons the baron de Lux, and the count d'Auvergne, who again betrays him: reasons why he behaved in this manner to the count d'Auvergne. The prince of Joinville arrested: The king pardons him also; but he is confined in prison. The duke of Bouillon artfully avoids coming to court. The courtiers endeavour to raise suspicions in Henry against Rosny: curious conversations betwixt them on this occasion. Affair of the advocates: discourse of Sigogne. Edicts and regulations upon the coin, commerce, finances, &c. Mines discovered in France. Edict against duels. The alliance with the Swiss renewed. Journey of Henry to Calais. Account of the military exploits between the Spaniards and Dutch; and other foreign affairs.

SUMMARY of the FOURTEENTH BOOK.

MEMOIRS of the year 1603. Troubles at Metz: Henry goes thither and banishes the Sobolles: other affairs transacted in this journey. Memorial against the cardinal d'Ossat: examination of the sentiments and conduct of the cardinal. Affairs.

S U M M A R Y.

fairs of the Low Countries. Intrigues of the duke of Bouillon, and new seditions of the Calvinists. Death of Elizabeth. James I. king of Great Britain. Henry's return: his conversation with Rosny upon the death of Elizabeth: resolves to send Rosny ambassador to London: deliberations in the council, and intrigues in the court upon this embassy. Indisposition of the king. Public and private instructions given to Rosny: his departure with a numerous retinue. Character of young Servin. Rosny embarks at Calais; insulted by the vice-admiral of England: his reception at Dover; at Canterbury, &c. he is received in London with the highest honours: his severity in the affair of Combaut. State of the political affairs of Great Britain. Character of the English: of king James: of the queen, &c. Several factions at this court. Rosny's conferences with the English counsellors; with the deputies of the States-General; with the resident from Venice, &c. He obtains his first audience: he is concerned at not being permitted to appear in mourning.

SUMMARY of the FIFTEENTH BOOK.

FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of Rosny's embassy to London: detail of what passed at his first audience: public conversations of the king of England with him, upon different subjects. Accidents at the court of London favourable and unfavourable to this negotiation. Dispositions of the different courts of Europe. Rosny's first conference with the English ministers. Intrigues
of

S U M M A R Y.

of Spain. Rosny's second audience, and private conversation with king James : he persuades him to support the United Provinces : other affairs transacted between them : his second conference with the British ministers, who endeavour to overthrow his negotiation. Imprudent proceedings of count de Aremburg. Third audience. Rosny admitted to the table of the king of England : public conversations on different subjects. Third conference with the English ministers and the deputies of the United-Provinces. Artifice and perfidy of Cecil. Fourth audience : private conversations with king James, to whom he communicates the political designs of Henry IV. and Elizabeth ; and endeavours to gain his approbation of them : a short abstract of these designs : James declares himself publicly in Rosny's favour.

SUMMARY of the SIXTEENTH BOOK.

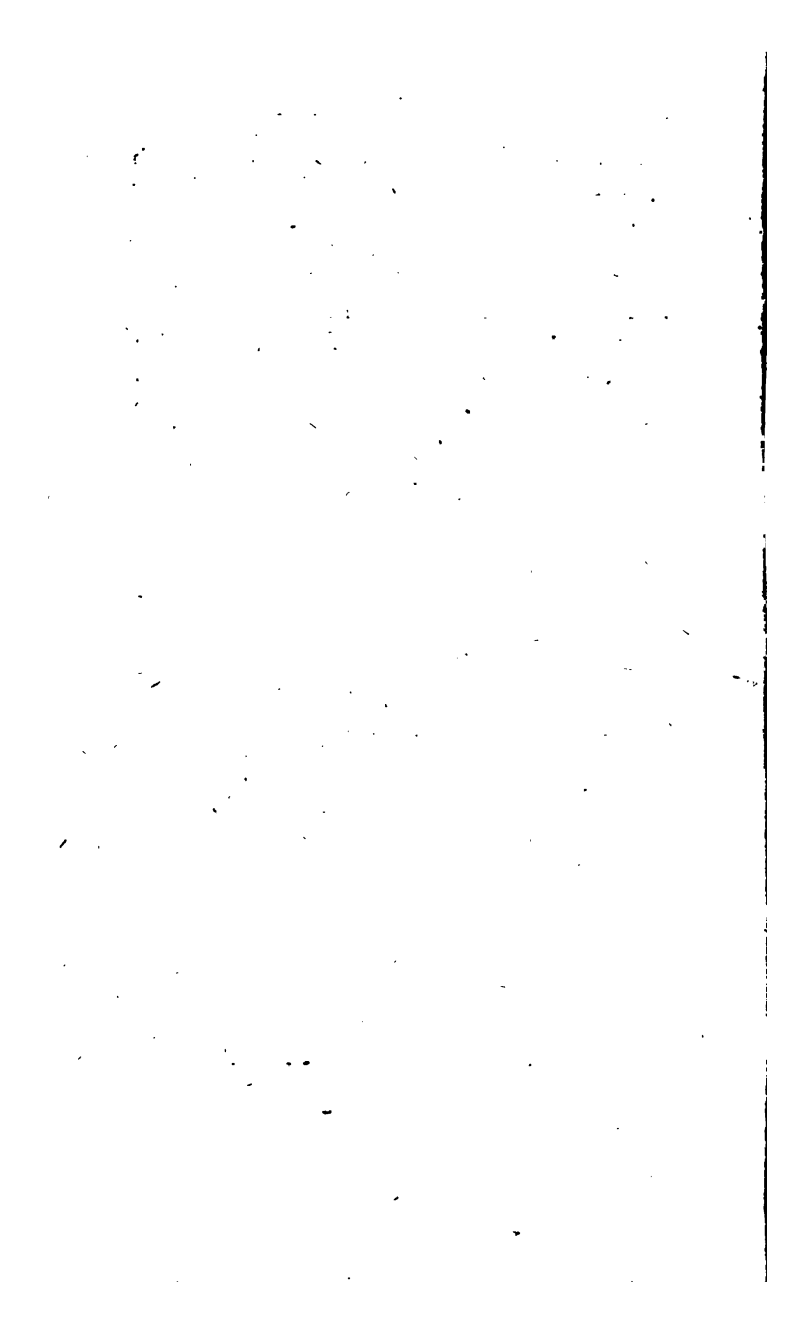
FARTHER memoirs of the year 1603. Continuation of the embassy and negotiations of Rosny at the court of London. Form of a treaty with his Britannic majesty : substance of this treaty. Dispatches from Rosny intercepted. Audience of leave, and Rosny's last conversation with king James : presents which he makes in London : his return : dangers at sea : his reception from Henry IV. public conversation between them on the subject of his negotiation. Memoirs of the state of affairs in England, Spain, the Low Countries, and other foreign countries. Rosny resumes his labours in the finances. Henry sup-

S U M M A R Y.

supports him openly in a quarrel which he had with the count de Soissons : he entertains the king at Rosny. Journey of Henry into Normandy : what passed in this journey. Mutiny of the protestants of the assembly of Gap. Rosny made governor of Poitou. Establishment of the silk manufactory in France : conversations on this subject, in which Rosny endeavours to dissuade Henry from this design. Remarks on his opinion of wearing silk, and on other parts of luxury. A colony settled at Canada.



MEMOIRS.



M E M O I R S

O F

S U L L Y.

B O O K XI.

THE time settled for the agreement about the marquisate of Saluces, of which the terms were referred to the pope, had elapsed without any decision by his holiness, because the duke of Savoy, who knew better than any other person that it could not be favourable for him, had, to * elude the sentence, made use of all those arts that were generally practised in this little court, whose policy it was, when its safety or advantage was in question, to employ cunning, treachery, submission, and the appearance of the strongest attachments. The first thought that presented itself to the duke of Savoy's mind was, to revoke an agreement which had only been made to gain time, or with a hope that France would embroil itself with the holy see : but as this proceeding seemed too disingenuous, he had recourse to another artifice to make the pope voluntarily resign the arbitration : he apprised his ambassador at Rome, that he had certain intelligence from France and Italy, that Clement VIII. had suffered himself to be gained by the king, on a private condition, that his most christian majesty should engage to yield afterwards to the

* This marquisate was a transferable fief of Dauphine, to which the house of Savoy had no right.

pope himself all his claims upon the marquifate of Saluces. The ambaffador, who was firft impofed upon by his mafter, explained himfelf in fuch a manner upon this collufion, that his holinefs, who had only accepted of the arbitration for the advantage of both parties, refigned it with indignation.

THE duke of Savoy, who had not doubted but that the pope would act in this manner, gave the king, however, to underftand, that he would rely entirely upon him, without having recourfe to any foreign arbitration upon the difpute. He thought, by piquing this prince upon his honour, to obtain that which was the fubject of their conteft, which he took care to have reprefented to him, as a thing of fuch fmall value, that it could not merit the attention of fo great a king. And it was with thefe inftructions that the fieurs de Jacob, de la Rochette, de Lullins, de Bretons, and de Roncas, the duke of Savoy's agents, came to Paris.

WITH views of this nature the minifter and the confident of the prince is commonly the perfon whom they begin to engage in their intereft, or (to be plainer) whom they endeavour to corrupt; and if he fhould not appear very virtuous, do not even conceal from him the design with which they come, and in their difcourfe make no longer any ufe of that caution which is obferved in a congress. Thefe gentlemen therefore told me, that their mafter did not pretend to hold the marquifate of Saluces of his majefty any otherwife than as a mere gift of his munificence; and at the fame time infinuated to me plainly enough, that this prefent would produce from the duke of Savoy advantages for me proportionable to the importance of the request, and my folitude to fecure its fuccefs. I would not feem to underftand thefe laft words: and with regard to the firft, I told the agents drily, that fince, as they well knew, no one could beftow upon another what was not immediately in his own poffeffion, it was neceffary the duke

1599.

O F S U L L Y.

3

duke of Savoy should first begin by resigning all claim to the marquisate of Saluces; and that then his majesty, who I assured them had no less greatness of mind than his highness, would use his power royally. And I very earnestly intreated them to address themselves directly to the king: which they did, discouraged with the manner I spoke to them. Henry treated them with great civility, but appeared so resolute upon every thing which regarded that state, that after several useless attempts, they laid aside all thoughts of succeeding this way.

FINDING all France, and the court itself, filled with malecontents and mutinous persons, they imagined that by pushing them on to some violent resolution, they might give Henry sufficient employment within his kingdom, to make him lose sight of all that passed without. The duke of Savoy's presence appeared to them absolutely necessary to engage more closely those lords that listened to their suggestions; and they wrote to him, that his interest required that he should take a journey to Paris. This project was perfectly suited to the duke's character *; he consented to it, and ordered them to demand his majesty's leave for that purpose; which the king would have denied, if he could have done it with any appearance of reason. But the duke of Savoy had deprived him of the least pretence, by protesting, that he undertook this journey, in order that he might himself treat with his majesty; or rather, that he came to submit entirely to the king's will. This declaration he accompanied with so many complaints against Spain, that he seemed to be upon the point of coming to an open rupture with that crown; and that henceforward he would place all his hopes of security on an union with France. He had a short time before refused an advantageous proposal made him by

* It is said, that this prince, during his residence at the court of France, one day let fall the following words, "I am not come into this kingdom to reap, but to sow."

the king of Spain, to send his son and his eldest daughter to the court of Madrid, to appear there as princes of the blood-royal of Spain.

By this step of the duke of Savoy, the pope was fully determined to concern himself no further with the affair of Saluces: but nothing could make the king neglect two things, which from the very first appeared to him absolutely necessary; namely, to give up no part of that satisfaction which was due to him by the duke, and to discover all his transactions with the malecontents of his court.

AMONG these the king always gave marechal Biron the first rank. His majesty knew, that during the stay this marechal made in Guienne, he had solicited the nobility of that province to engage in his interests; and that at his own table he had had such conversations with them, as proved him to be an enemy to the royal authority. All this might have been attributed to the pride and insolence of his disposition; but what gave most weight to this behaviour was, that his intrigues at the court of Savoy, although carried on with all possible caution, came at the same time to his majesty's knowledge. And the journey the king took this year to Blois, had in reality no other motive than to disconcert the projects of Biron, and to retain the people in their duty; but in public, the king talked of it as a party of pleasure, to pass the summer in that agreeable climate, and to eat, he said, some of the excellent melons there. His removal from Paris likewise, in the state things then were, was a matter of indifference.

I ATTENDED his majesty, whose stay at Blois produced nothing of consequence enough to be mentioned: he passed his time there in the employment I have already spoken of, and in endeavouring to procure the so earnestly desired dissolution of his marriage with Margaret of Valois. As long as the duchess of Beaufort lived no one was solicitous to press Henry to a divorce, either because they apprehended

prehended that their endeavours would turn to the advantage of his mistress, who was universally hated, or that they did not care to expose themselves to the rage of this woman ; who was alway to be feared, even though her designs should not succeed : but as soon as she was dead, there was a general combination of the parliament, all the other bodies, and the people, to solicit him on this subject. The procurer-general came to his majesty, and intreated him to give his subjects this satisfaction. The king, though he was not determined upon his choice, promised, however, to yield to the desires of his people.

I NOW resumed my correspondence with queen Margaret with more ardour than before : I had taken no pains to remove the obstacle which this princess made, on madam de Beaufort's account, to the consent that was required of her ; for I looked upon it as a resource to which, probably every one must have applied ; and it was this only that could have restrained the court of Rome, if the king had suffered himself at last to be gained by his mistress : besides, the compliance I observed in Margaret, assured me that she did not make it a pretence for an absolute refusal. I was confirmed in this opinion by the answer she wrote me from Usson, to a letter I had just sent her, in which I mentioned the sacrifice that was expected from her, in very respectful but in very clear terms, as such negotiations require. Margaret, on her side, to shew that she perfectly understood what was to be done, explained herself absolutely upon the bill of divorce, annexing to it such reasonable conditions as took away all difficulty for the future ; she only desired a decent pension might be assigned her, and that her debts might be paid ; appointing a man to conclude this affair, either with the king, or with me, who, though firmly attached to her, could not be suspected : this was Langlois, who had served his majesty so faithfully in the reduction of the city of Paris, and had been rewarded for

it with the post of master of the requests. It was not easy to find a man who was more capable of business: he brought his majesty an answer from Margaret *; for the king thought he likewise was under a necessity of writing to her, which he did with equal goodness and complaisance, but in terms far less explicit than I had done. With the letters, Langlois brought a state of this princess's demands, which were immediately granted. To render the thing more firm, Langlois undertook to make her write to the pope in terms that gave his holiness to understand, that she was far from being constrained to this act; that she had the same solicitude for the conclusion of this affair as all France had. D'Ossat provided with a writing of the same kind, found no more obstacles: he was seconded by Sillery, who endeavoured to efface the scandal of his first commission. The holy father used no more delays in granting the favour that was demanded of him, than what decency and ceremony required; and did not suffer himself to be influenced by suggestions of envious persons, a detestable sort of men who are to be found in every place. He appointed the bishop of Modena, his nephew and nuncio, to put the finishing hand to this affair, which could be only done in France; associating with him two commissioners of that nation, the archbishop of † Arles, and the cardinal de Joyeuse: the course they were to take, was to

* See these two letters of Henry IV. to Margaret de Valois, and of Margaret's to Henry, in the new collection des lettres du Henry le Grand.

† Horace del Monte, the archbishop of Arles, and Francis de Joyeuse, the second son of William de Joyeuse. These three commissaries having met in the palace of Henry de Gondy, bishop of Paris, after maturely examining the reasons alledged on both sides, declared the marriage void, by reason of consanguinity, different religion, spiritual affinity, compulsion, and for want of the consent of one of the parties; for Henry IV. and Margaret de Valois were related in the third degree; the mother of Jane d'Albert, who also was called Margaret, being the sister of Francis I. See the history and pieces concerning this divorce in Matthieu, tom. II. b. ii. De Thou, liv. cxxiii. La Chronologie Septennaire, ann. 1599.

declare

declare the parties free from all engagements, by the nullity of their marriage.

WHILE this affair was hastening towards a conclusion, Henry returned to Fontainebleau; and giving great part of his time to diversions, and the pleasures of the table, heard mademoiselle d'Entragues † often mentioned. The courtiers, eager to flatter his inclination for the fair, spoke so advantageously of the beauty, wit, and sprightliness of this young lady, that the king had a desire to see her, and became immediately passionately enamoured of her. Who could have foreseen the uneasiness this new passion was to give him! but it was Henry's fate, that the same weakness which obscured his glory should likewise destroy the tranquility of his life.

THE lady was no novice: although sensible of the pleasure of being beloved by a great king, yet ambition was her predominant passion; and she flattered herself she might make so good use of her charms, as to oblige her lover to become her husband. She did not therefore seem in haste to yield to his desires; pride, chastity, and interest, were employed in their turns; she demanded no less than one hundred thousand crowns for the price of her favours. And perceiving that she had only increased Henry's passion, by an obstacle, in my opinion much more likely to cool it, since his majesty was obliged to tear this sum from me by violence, she no longer despaired of any thing, and had recourse to other artifices; she alledged the restraint her relations † kept her

† Catherine Henrietta, daughter to Francis de Balzac, lord of Entragues, Marcouffy, and de Maleherbes, by Mary Touchet, mistress to Charles IX. whom he married for his second wife. The writings of those times represent her as not so beautiful, though younger, than the fair Gabrielle, and still more gay, ambitious, and enterprising. This sketch, which corresponds with what the duke de Sully says here, will be very much confirmed in the sequel of these memoirs.

† This fear was not entirely without foundation. If we may believe the *marechal de Bassompierre*, in his *Memoirs*, her mother was indeed very condescending in this affair; and it was even she that drew the king to Maleherbes, a house where she lived: but her father

in, and the fear of their resentment. The prince endeavoured to remove all these scruples, but could not satisfy the lady, who taking a favourable opportunity, at length declared that she would never grant him any thing unless he would give her a promise, under his hand, to marry her in a year's time. It was not upon her own account, she said (accompanying this strange request with an air of modesty, with which she well knew how to enflame the king) that she asked for this promise, to her a verbal one had been sufficient, or, indeed, she would have required none of any kind, being sensible that her birth did not allow her to pretend to that honour, but that she would have occasion for such a writing, to serve as an excuse for her fault to her relations; and observing that the king still hesitated, she had the address to hint, that in reality she should look upon this promise as of very little consequence, knowing well the king was not to be summoned to to a court of justice like one of his common subjects.

What a striking example of the tyranny of love! Henry was not so dull but that he plainly perceived this girl endeavoured to deceive him: not to mention likewise those reasons he had to believe her far from being a vestal, or those intrigues against the state of which her father, mother, or brother, and even herself, had been convicted, and had drawn upon this family an order to leave Paris, which I had so lately signified to them from his majesty; notwithstanding all this, the king was weak enough to comply with his mistress's desires, and promised to grant her request.

ONE morning, when he was preparing to go to the chace, he called me into the gallery at Fontaine-

was not so complying, any more than the count d'Auvergne, half-brother by the mother to the lady. They wanted to pick a quarrel with the count de Lude, whom Henry IV. employed upon this occasion: and they carried the lady to Marcouffis, where the king nevertheless went to see her. Tom. J.

bleau,

bleau, and put this shameful paper into my hands. It is a piece of justice, which I am so much the more obliged to do Henry, as the reader must perceive that I do not endeavour to palliate his faults, to acknowledge that, in the greatest excesses to which he was hurried by his passions, he always submitted to a candid confession of them, and to consult with those persons whom he knew were most likely to oppose his designs. This is an instance of rectitude and greatness of soul, rarely to be found amongst princes. While I was reading this paper, every word of which was like the stab of a poignard, Henry sometimes turned aside to conceal his confusion, and sometimes endeavoured to gain over his confidant by condemning and excusing himself by turns; but my thoughts were wholly employed upon the fatal writing. The clause of marrying a mistress, provided she bore him a son in the space of a year (for it was conceived in these terms) appeared indeed ridiculous, and plainly of no effect; but nothing could relieve my anxiety, on account of the shame and contempt the king must necessarily incur, by a promise which, sooner or later, would infallibly make a dreadful confusion. I was also afraid of the consequences of such a step in the present conjuncture whilst the divorce was depending; and this thought rendered me silent and motionless.

HENRY, seeing that I returned him the paper coldly, but with a visible agitation of mind, said to me, "Come, come, speak freely, and do not assume all this reserve." I could not immediately find words to express my thoughts, nor need I here assign reasons for my perplexity, which may be easily imagined by those who know what it is to be the confidant of a king, on occasions when there is a necessity of combatting his resolution, which is always absolute and unalterable. The king again assured me, that I might say and do what I pleased, without offending him; which was but a just

amends, he said, for having forced from me three hundred thousand livres. I obliged him to repeat this assurance several times, and even to seal it with a kind of oath; and then no longer hesitating to discover my opinion, I took the paper out of the king's hands, and tore it to pieces, without saying a word. "How!" said Henry, astonished at the boldness of this action, "*Morbieu!* what do you mean to do? I think you are mad?" "I am mad," I acknowledge, fire, replied I, and would to God I was the only madman in France." My resolution was taken, and I was prepared to suffer every thing, rather than, by a pernicious deference and respect, to betray my duty and veracity; therefore, notwithstanding the rage I saw that instant impressed on the king's countenance, while he collected together out of my hands the torn pieces of the writing, to serve as a model for another, I took advantage of that interval to represent to him, in a forcible manner, all that the subject may be imagined to suggest to me. The king, angry as he was, listened till I had done speaking, but, overcome by his passion, nothing was capable of altering his resolution; the only effort he made was not to banish from his presence a confident too sincere. He went out of the gallery without saying a single word to me, and returned to his closet, whither he ordered Lomenie to bring him a standish and paper; he came out again in half a quarter of an hour, which he had employed in writing a new promise. I was at the foot of the staircase when he descended; he passed by without seeming to see me, and went to Maleherbes to hunt, where he staid two days.

I was of opinion that this incident ought to put no stop to the affair of the divorce, nor hinder another wife from being sought for, for the king, but rather that it should hasten both: his majesty's agents at Rome made therefore the first overture of a marriage between Henry and the princess Mary of Medicis †,

Medicis†, daughter to the grand duke of Florence. The king suffered us to proceed in this business, and, by the force of repeated importunities, even appointed the constable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and I, to treat with the person whom the grand duke should send to Paris. We were resolved not to let the affair sleep. Joannini, the person deputed by the grand duke, was no sooner arrived, than the articles were instantly drawn and signed by us all.

I WAS pitched upon to communicate this news to the king, who did not expect the business would have been concluded so suddenly. As soon as I replied to his question from whence I came, "We come, sire, from marrying you," this prince remained a quarter of an hour as if he had been struck with a thunderbolt. He afterwards walked up and down his chamber hastily, delivering himself up to reflections, with which his mind was so violently agitated, that for a long time he could not utter a word. I did not doubt but that all I had represented to him had now a proper effect: At length recovering himself like a man who had taken his resolution, "Well!" said he, rubbing his hands together, "well, *depar Dieu!* be it so, there is no remedy: if for the good of my kingdom I must marry, I must." He acknowledged to me, that the fear of succeeding no better in his second than his first marriage was the cause of his irresolution. Strange caprice of the human mind! A prince who had extricated himself with glory and success from a thousand cruel dissensions, which war and policy had occasioned, trembled at the very thoughts of domestic quarrels, and seemed more troubled than when, that very year, upon notice sent from a capuchin of Mi-

† Mary de Medicis, daughter to Francis grand duke of Tuscany, by the arch-duchess Jane of Austria, daughter to the emperor Ferdinand. She had for her portion six hundred thousand crowns, besides rings and jewels. *La Chronologie Septennaire*, anno 1600, p. 121. and Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 336; give an account of the negotiations of d'Ossat and de Sillery, relating to his marriage.

lan *, an Italian, who had come to Paris with an intention to poignard him, was seized in the midst of the court. The marriage, though concluded on, was not solemnized till the following year.

OTHER foreign affairs in this, which remain to be mentioned, are these; the war in the Low Countries, which was vigorously begun when the archduke went into those provinces; the king, upon reiterated complaints from Spain, forbade his subjects to bear arms in the service of the States, but this was merely for form's sake, policy not permitting him to suffer the Flemings to be oppressed. His majesty not only forbore to punish those who disobeyed these orders, but likewise assisted that people privately: the war in Hungary, which I shall say nothing of, except that the duke of Mercœur asked and obtained leave to serve in the troops of the emperor Rodolph; the revolution that happened in Sweden, where the then reigning king and elected one of Poland † was dethroned by his subjects, who put his uncle Charles duke of Sudermania in his place; and lost all hope of ever being restored, by the defeat he received from his rival.

WITH respect to my own personal affairs, this was the most considerable. This year the princess d'Epinoi ‡, came to me when I was at Blois, to engage my interest with the king against the princes of Ligne, who had attempted to usurp her estate, and that of her children. These children were five in number, four of whom, three sons and her eldest

* His name was Frese Honorio. Henry IV. thanked him himself for it, and caused several advantageous offers to be made him by his ambassador at Rome. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 302.

† Sigismund. This misfortune befel him for attempting to re-establish the catholic religion in Sweden. See, with regard to all these foreign affairs De Thou, le Septennaire, and other historians, an. 1599.

‡ Hippolite de Montmorency, widow of Peter de Melun prince d'Epinoi, died in 1594. The princes de Ligne, of whom he speaks here, are l'Amoral prince de Ligne, governor of Artois, that married Mary de Melun, who had the seigniories of Roubaix, d'Antoing, and his brothers,

daughter,

daughter, she had brought with her; the youngest was educated under the care of madam de Roubais, widow of the viscount de Gand her uncle and mine. The princess told me, that the nearest relation by the father's side which her children had in France being myself, it was fit I should be their guardian. I accepted willingly of this trust, to procure them justice; and had the satisfaction at the end of seven years, during which time I took the same care of these children as my own, to restore to them the possession of all their estates, which amounted to a hundred and twenty thousand livres a year. I shall have occasion hereafter, to take notice of the obligations they received from his majesty.

ABOUT the same time the merchants of Tours came to intreat my assistance in procuring leave for them to establish manufactures of silks, and of gold and silver stuffs, which had not yet been made in France, together with a prohibition for importing any from foreign countries for the future, assuring me that they had sufficient to supply the whole kingdom. Before I gave them their answer, I required time to examine if their report was true; and being convinced it was not, I endeavoured to dissuade them from an enterprize, which could not miscarry with impunity: I could not prevail. Upon my refusal they addressed themselves directly to his majesty. I thought it necessary not to oppose an establishment, which, if well conducted, might be of great use. The king, overcome by their opportunity, granted all they asked; but six months was scarce passed, when, for want of having taken proper measures, they came to get their commissions revoked, which had given general discontent on account of the inconveniency and increase of expence to the purchasers, which had been produced by this new regulation*.

* The murmurings of the bankers and the public farmers of the revenue, whose profits the new prohibition had considerably diminished, likewise

THE king, believing the affair of the marquifate of Saluces would not be finished without striking a blow for it, had, for some time, thought of getting a man to perform the duties of grand master of the ordnance, who was capable of acquitting himself well of them, and above all of acting by himself; this good old d'Estrées was not able to do: however, his majesty would not take away the post from him, for his children's sake, of whom Monsieur d'Estrées was the grandfather; but the expedient he hit upon was, that the elder de Born being desirous of resigning the post of lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I might treat with him for it, and unite the duties of that employment to those of the grand master of the ordnance, although I was not invested with this last. He even offered, in my favour, to augment the privileges of the first, already very considerable, by raising it into an office, giving it authority over all the lieutenant-generals in the provinces, augmenting the salary, and lastly, by granting the patents gratis. However, I must acknowledge, that I was not to be won by these offers, and could not resolve to serve under another, after having been disappointed of the first place: I therefore excused myself, upon the business I was already charged with, from not complying with the king's intentions. The king was not to be imposed upon by this answer; and, after many solicitations which I knew how to defend myself against, he left me in anger, telling

likewise contributed not a little to its revocation. *Chronologie Septennarie*, p. 94. an. 1599. The case is the same with regard to these stuffs as all the other parts of traffic. The freedom of trade which should subsist between all the nations of the world, will not give us, in this respect, any advantage over our neighbours, farther than we can find out the methods of manufacturing these stuffs ourselves of a more beautiful, finer, or cheaper fabric. At this very day a great number of foreigners take them off our hands, and the prohibition is in force only as to Indian stuffs and printed linens; but it were to be wished that we would be more careful to forbear the use of the latter, or rather make in France such stuffs as would serve instead of these which are so commodious and serviceable.

me that he would mention it to me no more, but, that since I would listen to nothing but my caprice, he would take his own way.

His kindness for me made him that moment forget his threat. He caused a proposal to be made to monsieur de Estrées to resign his employment, which, as soon as I was informed of, I offered, by monsieur, and madam du Peche, three thousand crowns to madam de Nery, who governed the old man entirely, to procure his consent. The master of the ordnance being importuned by this woman, told the king that he was willing to accept of an equivalent for his post. The king immediately acquainted me with his resolution, adding, that he required nothing of me for the offence I had given him, but to put his artillery into a condition to obtain the marquise of Saluces for him, which, he was every day more convinced, would not be yielded without force, that is to say, without a great number of very difficult sieges; for that is the usual way of carrying on a war in Savoy. I thanked his majesty, and agreed with d'Estrées for eighty thousand crowns; all these petty claims rising to a considerable sum more, I was, on this occasion, obliged to take up-rents to the value of a hundred thousand crowns from Morand, Vienne, and Villemontée; and three days afterwards I was solemnly invested with the dignity * of grand master of the ordnance, and took the usual oath for it. This was the fourth great office with which I was then honoured; the annual produce of it was twenty-four thousand livres. I

* The king declared it an office of the crown, and that in favour of M. de Sully. Brantome in the place where he gives us the list of the grand masters of the ordnance, speaks thus, " Since M. de Rosny has had this charge of grand master, who undoubtedly does the place so much honour, the arsenal is in very good order, owing to his great capacity and application, especially as the importance of the thing itself and his own good sense would have it so. Witness what he performed in the last war with Savoy, where, in a short time, he gave proof of very quick dispatch and diligence, by being sooner in the field than he was expected." *Vies des hommes illustres*, art. M. Rosny. tom. I. p. 227, 228.

I thought myself obliged, in gratitude to his majesty for this last instance of his bounty, to give all my cares to the artillery. I visited the arsenal, where every thing seemed to me in such a miserable condition, that I resolved to take up my residence there, that I might apply myself wholly towards its re-establishment, although this castle was then very ill built and destitute of every conveniency.

THE affairs of the artillery were still worse. I began by a reform of the officers of this body, who not having the slightest notion of their trade, were, in fact, only the servants of the officers of the court of justice. I cashiered about five hundred of them at one stroke. I conferred next with the commissaries for saltpetre, and agreed with them for a considerable provision of powder, which I shewed to the king, treated likewise with the masters of great iron-works, for iron to make carriages and bombs; with foreign merchants for the metal; and with cartwrights and carpenters, for the wood-work necessary for the designs I had formed. His majesty came to visit his arsenal himself, fifteen days after I was settled there; and these visits became afterwards one of his chief amusements: he took pleasure in seeing the preparations that were making there, and the extreme diligence with which I applied myself to them.

THAT diligence indeed was no more than necessary in the present posture of affairs in Savoy, the effects of which, and that of the war they produced, I make up the subject of these Memoirs for all the ensuing year. It was at the end of this, that the king of Savoy left his own dominions to come into France with those intentions I have already mentioned, but they were too well known to produce the effects he had promised himself from his artifices.

The reflections which the past conduct of this king, together with that of his agents, and a knowledge of his character gave rise to, were far from being favourable to him. There was likewise something

thing still more positive against him : Lesdiguières had sent advice to his majesty, that the duke was fortifying his castles and towns with great care, especially those of Bresse, and furnishing them with ammunition and provisions. It was known, by means of the count de Carces and the sieur du Passage, that he had strongly solicited the court of Madrid, and pressed the pope, to procure a second reference of the affair ; representing to him, that it was the interest of all Italy not to suffer that his most christian majesty should possess any thing beyond the Alps. The French residence at Florence sent advice, that the duke's purpose, by coming into France, was to circumvent the king ; who, on his side, was persuaded, that it was M. de Savoy himself who would be the dupe, not only of him, but of the king of Spain and other princes of Italy ; for these last were at no pains to conceal their dislike of the duke of Savoy's ambitious and restless spirit : and the king of Spain had not forgot the public complaints he made, that while they gave the Low Countries and Franche Comté, of more value than the two Castiles and Portugal, as a portion for one of their infantas, the other, whom he had married, had nothing but a crucifix and an image of the Virgin Mary. Many other indecent sallies of the like nature, followed by reciprocal complaints, had absolutely ruined their former good correspondence.

THE event proved the justness of those observations which the letter the king shewed me from Lesdiguières occasioned ; but in public he shewed no resentment at what he had learned of the duke's proceedings ; he even ordered me to spare no expence to give him, at Lyons, such reception as is due to foreign sovereigns. This prince, I believe, had no cause to complain of me upon this account : but messieurs the counts of Saint-John * did not act

† It was by order of the king, according to F. Matthieu, vol. II. b. ii. p. 332. that the canons of Lyons refused the duke of Savoy the place

in the same manner; they denied him certain honours which the dukes of Savoy claimed in the assembly of canons as counts of Villars. It was at Fontainebleau and at Paris where the shew was most magnificent. The duke of Savoy, on his part, appeared with splendor suitable to his rank.

THREE days after his arrival at Paris, the king, who was desirous of shewing him the new regulations in the arsenal, sent me notice that he would come and sup there with the duke and chief lords and ladies of his court. The duke of Savoy came so long before, that I could not impute such extraordinary haste to meer accident. He desired to see the magazines; which was not what I wanted; I was ashamed of the poverty of the old magazines, and therefore carried him into the new work-houses. Twenty cannons lately cast, and as many more in a readiness for it, forty completely mounted, and several other works which he saw carrying on with great diligence, surprised him so much, that he could not help asking me what I meant by all these preparations? Sir, replied I, smiling, to take Montmelian. The duke, without giving any indications that this reply had a little disconcerted him, asked, with an air of gaiety and freedom, if I had ever been there; and upon my answering him in the negative, "Truly, I thought so, said he, or you would not have talked of taking it; Montmelian is impregnable." I answered in the same tone, that I would not advise him to oblige the king to make the attempt, because

place of honorary canon in their cathedral, which they had granted to the former duke his father, and that for a very obvious reason, the house of Savoy having since that time lost possession of the earldom of Villars. This ceremony consisted in presenting some sacred vestments to the duke at the entrance of the cloyster, and giving him rank in the church among the canons.

† Notwithstanding this magnificent reception, the duke of Savoy, after the first conference he had with Henry IV. become sensible that he was not likely to obtain his demand. "I have delivered my message, said he, and may now go whenever I will." Matthieu sur le Voyage de ce prince en France, tom. II. liv. ii.

I was very certain that Montmelian would, in that case, lose the title of impregnable.

THESE words gave our conversation immediately a very serious turn. The duke of Savoy taking occasion to mention the affairs which brought him into France, had already, in a polite manner, begun to make me sensible that he knew I was not in his interest, when we were interrupted by the arrival of his majesty : and afterwards nothing was thought of but pleasure. However, the same night commissioners were named for examining the occasion of the contest : the constable, the chancellor, *maréchal Biron*, *Meisse*, *Villeroi*, and myself, were appointed for the king ; and for the duke of Savoy, *Belly* his chancellor, the *marquis de Lullin*, the *seurs de Jacob*, the *Count de Morette*, the *Chevalier de Bréttons*, and *des Allymes*.

THE duke of Savoy had already brought over the greater part of our commissioners to his interests : he gained them completely at last, by the liberal gifts which he bestowed both on them and the whole court* at the new year. But I was the person that gave him most trouble ; for every time, when the question was debated among the commissioners, I constantly held firm to this determination, either that a restitution should be made to his majesty of the *marquisate of Saluces*, or that *Bresse*, and all the border of the *Rhone* from *Geneva* to *Lyons*, should

* The duke sent the king two large basons and two crystal vases, as a new year's gift. " In return of which, the king gave the duke " a *crochet* of diamonds, where, among others, was one with his " majesty's picture : it was a very fine piece, and the duke had a " great value for it : he made presents to all who came to compli- " ment him." *Chronologie Septen. ann. 1600.* It was said that he had gained over the *duchess of Beaufort* to his interest. So that if this lady had not died, it is probable the restitution of *Saluces* might have been dispensed with. The duke of Savoy playing at *primero* with *Henry*, on a bet of 4000 pistoles, the king neglected his play, supposing that he had already won the game : but the duke, who had it in his own hand, contented himself with shewing the cards to the dukes of *Guise* and *D'Aubigné*, who were present, and then shuffled them together. It is *D'Aubigné* that relates this circumstance of the duke's generosity or policy.

be given him in exchange. But for the apparent incivility of such a proceeding, they would have solicited by exclusion from the meetings: therefore they had again recourse to an attempt to gain me, which they resolved to do at any price whatsoever.

ON the 5th of January, Des Allymes † came to make me the usual compliments, in the name of his highness: he intreated me, with great politeness, to attend to his master's reasons; that is, in plain terms, to approve of them; for at the same time that he made me this request, he presented me with his highness's picture, in a box enriched with diamonds of fifteen or twenty thousand crowns value. To assist me in making a composition with my conscience, he told me, that this picture came from a daughter of France; and while he perceived me busy in admiring the brilliants, added, that this was given me by a prince whose attachment to the king was equal to his friendship for me. I still kept the picture in my hand, and asked Des Allymes what were the proposals he had to make me? He, who thought the decisive moment was now come, immediately displayed his whole stock of eloquence; and, for want of good reasons, endeavoured to prove the advantage that was to be gained by the pretended rupture of his master with Spain, who offered to assist the king in conquering Naples, Milan, and the empire itself. All this cost him nothing; and to hear him, one would have thought that he had been able to dispose absolutely of these dominions; for which he added, that he did not doubt but the king would yield willingly to the duke a paltry marquisate.

I COULD keep silence no longer. I told Des Allymes, that if the king demanded the marquisate of Saluces to be restored to him, it was not on account of its value, since that was very inconsiderable; but he could not in honour suffer the crown to be dis-

† René de Lucinge des Allymes, ambassador from Savoy to the court of France.

membered of one of its ancient domains, and which had been usurped at a time when the duke of Savoy, having received the highest obligations from Henry III. at his return from Poland, ought in gratitude to have abstained from it. I thanked the deputy for his obliging expressions in my favour; and, to pay his compliments with others, assured him, than when the duke of Savoy had made an absolute restitution of Saluces, I would not forget to use my interest with his majesty, to engage him to procure those opulent kingdoms for the duke which he had offered to the king, and which would be much more convenient for him than his majesty. Saying this, I opened the box, and after praising the workmanship and the materials, I told Des Allymes, that the great value of the present was the only reason which hindered me from accepting it; but that if he would allow me to return the box and the diamonds, I would keep the picture with great pleasure, in remembrance of a prince so obliging. Accordingly I separated the box and diamonds from the picture, when Des Allymes telling me, that it did not belong to him to make any alterations in his master's presents, I intreated him to take back all together. And he left me in despair of ever being able to engage me in his master's interest, and appeared but little satisfied with my behaviour.

ALL that remained now to be done was to exclude me from their meetings. Upon his majesty's refusing to gratify them in this request, the duke of Savoy took it in his head to desire, that the patriarch * of Constantinople might assist at these meetings in the name of the pope; which the king agreed to, not thinking of the artifice concealed under this proposition. The next day, the king having an inclination to play at tennis, appointed the assembly to be kept at the constable's house, because

* Father Bonaventura de Calatagirone, general of the Cordeliers, and the pope's nuncio,

he could conveniently make his party when he went from thence, after he had seen the conference begun : but before he left us, he exhorted all the commissioners to have a strict regard to justice ; and whispering me in particular, “ Take care of every thing, said he, and do not suffer them to impose upon you,”

UPON the king's departure, I found, that instead of taking their seats, they divided into parties, two or three together, and the nuncio sometimes conferring with one set, sometimes with another, not suffering the business to be entered upon regularly : and, above all, carefully avoiding to say any thing to me. At length, Bellievre told me, that the good patriarch could not subdue his scruples about conversing with an huguenot ; and intreated me, in the name of the assembly, to absent myself, since nothing could be done while I was present. I instantly comprehended the cause of this behaviour ; and bowing profoundly low, withdrew, intending to go and give the king an account of what had passed. I met him in the gallery, where he had stopped to speak to Bellengreville : he asked me with some surprise, if all was over already ? and upon my acquainting him with the truth of the matter, he fell into a great rage, and ordered me to return to the commissioners, and tell them, that if there was any person amongst them to whom my presence was displeasing, it was his business to withdraw, not mine. I disturbed a little the joy of the assembly, by repeating this new order of the king's. The measures they took were, to waste the hours in seeking for expedients, till dinner-time approached ; and then they deferred entering upon the question till the afternoon. But notwithstanding all their endeavours with his majesty, I continued still in the number of the commissioners, and the nuncio was obliged to vanquish his reluctance.

BRETONS and Roncas turned themselves on every side,

side, to avoid yielding to a restitution of the marquissate; they offered to do homage for it to his majesty, and if that was not sufficient, to hold Bresse upon the same conditions. I easily rendered all these proposals ineffectual, and got it unanimously declared, to give the duke of Savoy this alternative, either to resign Saluces to the king, or, in its place, the county of Bresse as far as the river of Dain, the vicarship of Barcelonette, the valley of Sture, that of Perouse, and Pignerol; in which case, all the towns and fortresses taken on both sides were to be restored *.

THE duke of Savoy expected a quite different conduct from the commissioners; but the truth is, they durst not openly oppose a determination which they knew to be the king's: all the resource they had left was, to join with the courtiers in supporting the interest of the duke of Savoy: and were continually representing to the king, that he ought not to act too rigorously with a prince, whose alliance he might purchase at a very inconsiderable price, and would be much more advantageous than a fief of no value, and which would be very difficult to preserve. The alternative they offered the duke of Savoy afforded them a pretence for granting him six months to come to a resolution: he desired eighteen; and I maintained, there was no necessity for any delay. I went to his majesty to acquaint him with this resolution, which was taken in spite of me, and represented to him the great inconveniency of giving the duke of Savoy so long a time to renew his correspondences, and to prepare for war. Henry, prejudiced

† A kind of agreement was concluded upon this plan between the commissaries, which it was much suspected the duke of Savoy would not observe, because of the delays he desired: whereupon, as Le Grain relates it, a certain person proposed to Henry, that the duke of Savoy should be seized, and by that means obliged to perform his part of the articles. But this proposal was rejected by the king. See the particulars of the negotiation, and of the duke's residence at Paris, in *M. De Thou*, and *Le Septennaire*, an. 1599, 1600.

by the discourse of the courtiers on the necessity of granting a delay to the duke of Savoy, asked me how it was possible to do otherwise? "By granting the duke of Savoy, said I, an honourable escort of fifteen thousand foot, two thousand horse, and twenty cannon, to conduct him to Montmelian, or what other place he shall chuse to go to, and there oblige him to explain himself upon the alternative that has been proposed to him." The king did not approve of my advice, his word was given to the contrary: I was truly grieved at it; for I have been always firmly persuaded, that, but for compliance, his majesty might have avoided a war, and have received complete satisfaction. All I could obtain was, that three months should be taken from the six that had been agreed upon.

THE duke of Savoy, finding that his majesty, who was weary of the continual sollicitations that were made him on this subject, would no longer answer otherwise than in these few words, *I am resolved to have my marquifate*, set out a little time after for Chambery, where, till the expiration of the time prescribed, which was in the month of June, he employed himself in preparations for his defence. He would have had no occasion for them, if the plot of a woman, named Nicole Mignon, had succeeded. She had undertaken to poison the king †, and thought to have engaged the count of Soissons, who, on all occasions made known his discontent, in her design; but he conceived so great an horror at it, that he

† By procuring her husband to be admitted into the number of the king's cooks, by the interest of the count de Soissons, steward of the household. She was well known to all the princes of the blood, and to Henry himself at St. Denis, where she kept one of the principal inns during the war. The count of Soissons, to whom she had hinted, that it would be his own fault if he was not one of the greatest princes in the world, suspecting that this woman had some bad design, caused Lomenie to conceal himself in a closet, which gave him an opportunity of discovering what means she intended to use. She was accused of practising sorcery, but was only a profligate woman, and somewhat disordered in her senses. Chronologie Septennaire, anno 1600.

discovered her immediately: she confessed her crime, and was burnt.

NOTHING remarkable happened during these three months, except the dispute between messieurs Du Perron and Du Plessis. Towards the latter end of the last year, appeared a book † of Du Plessis upon

† This book is intitled, *Instructions de la sainte eucharistie*, and attacks the mass by pretended arguments drawn from the fathers. As soon as it appeared in public, many catholic divines exclaimed against the falshood of a great number of the quotations it contained. This obliged Du-Plessis to offer a kind of challenge, which those doctors prevailed upon the bishop of Evreux to accept. After several letters and steps taken on both sides to settle the method in which they were to proceed, and in which it appears that Du-Plessis repented more than once of having gone so far; the king determined that there should be a public dispute between the two antagonists, wherein fifty of these passages were to be made good every day, till all the five hundred and fifty were gone through, which M. Du Perron had excepted against. They met in the council-chamber at Fontainebleau, in the presence of the king and commissaries appointed by him: those for the catholics were the president De Thou, the advocate Piethou, and the sieur Marten, reader and physician to his majesty; for the calvinists, Fresne-Canaye, and Casaubon. They met on Thursday the 4th of May, at one o'clock in the forenoon. Of sixty-one passages which Du Perron sent to his antagonists, the latter was only prepared on nineteen of them, which he had selected from all the rest: as to these, said he to the king, I will lose my reputation or life, if one of them be found false. However, he was convicted of an unfair representation in all those that were examined: and they could only go through nine of them: the chancellor then declared the opinions of all present, upon the nine articles severally, that in the first, which was from Scotus, and the second from Durandus, Du Plessis had taken the objection for the answer; in the third and fourth from St. Chrysostom, and the fifth from Jerom, that he had omitted some of the most material words; in the sixth, that it was no where to be found in St. Cyril; on the seventh, which was taken from the Code, that it was indeed from Crinitus, but that Crinitus had falsified the text: as to the eighth, which included two propositions from St. Bernard, that Du Plessis ought to have separated them, or at least to have put an &c. between: with regard to the ninth from Theodoret, that it was mutilated, and that the word idols was taken for images. This was the only conference that was held. Du Plessis Mornay, being seized with an indisposition next day, went to Saumur some days after, without taking leave of the king. Fresne-Canaye one of the commissioners, and Saint Marie du Mont, another eminent protestant, were soon after this dispute, in which Henry himself sometimes spoke, converted to the catholic faith. Du Plessis pretended to prove, by the authority of St. Cyril, that it was not a custom among the primitive christians to adore the cross, and yet he alledged the reproach which the em-

the eucharist, which was looked upon by the protestant party, to be a master-piece, and which I sent immediately to the bishop of Eyreux, who was at his diocese; the difference of religion had never been able to destroy that friendship and gratitude which this prelate had always for me, nor that affection and reverence, which I had ever preserved for his merit, his abilities, and even for his quality of being my bishop: the letters we wrote to each other were always in this strain. I was greatly surpris'd to read in that he wrote to me on account of the book I had sent him, that the errors and falsehoods it contained were so numerous, and followed one another so close, that the whole book was justly censurable. "Not
 " that I would accuse monsieur Du Pleffis of infir-
 " cerity," added the bishop of Eyreux, with equal moderation in his adversary's regard as politeness in mine, " but I am sorry for his misfortune in having
 " given credit to the confused collections of com-
 " pilers, who have greatly deceived him." The remainder of his letter contained only compliments upon my late preferment to the post of grand master of the ordnance, and assurances of the pleasure it would give him " to see me," he said, " who com-

peror Julian throws on them upon this very account. " It is not
 " very likely," returned the king, " that Julian the apostate would
 " have reproached the christians for adoring the cross, if they had not
 " actually done so; otherwise he would have exposed himself to be
 " laugh'd at." It was the king likewise who said, that at least an
 &c. ought to have been put in the passage from St. Bernard.

A catholic having observ'd to a calvinist, that Du Perron had already gained several passages of Du Pleffis, No matter, answer'd the protestant, provided that of Saumur be still left to him. Matthieu, *ibid.* This fact, which is told in the same manner in several polemical treatises, is generally attested by all our good historians, and even those who treat the protestants most favourably. M. De Thou, *liv. cxxiii. p. 843*, who was himself one of the commissaries. Matthieu, *ibid. Chron. Sept. p. 123, &c. Suppl. au Journal d'Henry IV. tom. II. p. 51, &c. Vol. 8778, de la Bibliot. du Roi. Le Grain*, and several others, who give us a relation of the whole dispute; so consequently no credit is to be given to the manner in which it is related in *La Vie de Du Pleffis, liv. ii. p. 269.*

" manded

“manded the cannons of France, obey the canons of the church.”

I NEVER had so good an opinion of Du Pleffis as the rest of the party had, who were all prejudiced in his favour; and I would not have chosen to have been security for the exactness of those large volumes, which he sent into the world in so quick a succession, for that on the eucharist had been preceded by a treatise upon the church. To write well, and upon these subjects especially, long reflection is necessary. This I told the bishop of Evreux in my answer; but at the same time I observed to him, that I could not believe Du Pleffis's book was, as he said, a series of errors. I told Du Perron at the same time, that this would be the subject of a great dispute between them, for Du Pleffis would not suffer his accusations to pass unanswered; this was all the serious part of my letter, the rest of it was filled with compliment, praises, and an invitation to visit my new dwelling, which do not deserve to be repeated †.

WHAT I had foreseen happened. However, I had expected only a private not a public dispute. I would have interposed the king's authority to have hindered the two champions from proceeding so far, but Du Pleffis was the most difficult ‡ to be persuaded, and persisted in his resolution to measure his weapons with those of the bishop of Evreux. Every one knows how the dispute was terminated. Du Pleffis's defence was weak, and ended in his disgrace. The king, who would honour this challenge with his presence, gave a thousand praises to the wit and learning of monsieur d'Evreux. “What do you think of your pope,” said Henry to me, during the debate (for Du Pleffis was with the pro-

† See those letters in the original, tom. II. part 1. p. 52.

‡ Sir, said Du Pleffis to M. de Rosny, my book is my own child, which I will defend, and I intreat you would suffer me to do so: don't you meddle with it, for you have not reared it. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 340.

testants what the pope is amongst the catholics) "I think fire," replied I, "that he is more a pope than your majesty imagines; for, at this moment, he gives the cardinal's hat to monsieur d'Evreux. If our religion has not a better foundation than his legs and arms crossed, I would quit it this instant."

It was upon this occasion, that his majesty, in a letter to the duke of Epemon, told him, that the diocese of Evreux had vanquished that of Saumur; that this is one of the greatest advantages, which for a long time had been obtained for the church of God; and that such a proceeding would draw more protestants to the true church than a course of violence for fifty years. This letter, the turn of which was no less singular than the choice Henry made of the duke of Epemon to address it to, made as much noise as the dispute itself, when it became public, which could not fail of happening when it was in such hands. Some said that the king wrote it to destroy the suspicions of his not being a sincere catholic, which notwithstanding his conversion, prevailed during his whole life, and gave room to the Jesuits to mention him disadvantageously in their letters to Rome: others imagined that this letter had a meaning which was not at first perceived, and maintained, that the king had a view in it to persuade either Spain or the protestants, that all efforts to induce the council of France to take violent and sanguinary methods with them would be useless.

THE six months that had been given to the duke of Savoy were now expired, yet he had taken no care to satisfy his engagement. His majesty began to think he should obtain nothing but by force; but, besides the persuasions of his courtiers, who all seemed to have sold their voices to the duke of Savoy, this prince was then retarded by an obstacle far more powerful, his fondness for his new mistress, to whom he had given the title of marchioness of Verneuil.

neuil. He was no longer able to think of a separation, and (it is with some confusion that I mention it) after I had, by repeated importunities, prevailed upon him to take the rout to Lyons, he deliberated whether he should not carry her with him, to which he was farther incited by the flatterers about him †. She was now with child; and, having the promise of marriage in her possession, the affair became of great consequence to Henry. Providence once more interposed in his favour. Madam de Verneuil was so frightened by the thunder during a storm, that she was delivered of a dead child. The king was informed of this accident at Moulins, whither he had advanced, and from whence he sent many a melancholy look to the place where he had left his mistress; but, restored to himself by his own reflections, he continued his rout to Lyons, where his troops had orders to join him.

I INTENDED to follow, as soon as I had settled all affairs relating to the government, and taken proper measures to secure the necessary supplies for the war, which I did not delay till the moment of execution. I had written to the receivers-general, that, according to the king's order, they were no longer to pay any bills drawn upon them, except those which were for the support of the frontier garrisons and the payment of the troops, because all others would be immediately discharged at the treasury, to which I ordered all their money to be carried directly. I likewise forbade those that paid rents, to discharge any bills without a new order, to keep them from paying, as they were accustomed, such notes as had been revoked or created without money. I raised some militia, which I chose rather to incorpo-

† She came to meet him at St. André de la Coste. Bassompierre, who was with Henry, says, that the lovers quarrelled at their first meeting, but were soon reconciled: after which, this prince carried his mistress to Grenoble, where he continued with her seven or eight days, and afterwards to Chambery, tom. I. 86, &c.

rate in the old corps, than to compose new regiments of. I applied myself more particularly to the affairs of the ordnance. I sent orders to the lieutenants of the ordnance of Lyonnois and Dauphiné, and to the commissioners of that of Burgundy, Provence, and Languedoc, to collect all their best pieces, and to make a great number of carriages for cannon and balls in proportion, and send them all with the powder and other ammunition to Lyons and Grenoble: and fearing, lest my orders should not be punctually executed, I went myself to Lyons, and returned in three days.

I GAVE the like orders in all the other provinces, and brought carriers to Paris, whom I obliged to enter into an engagement before a notary, to carry in fifteen days, three millions three hundred thousand weight to Lyons, without explaining to them what kind of merchandise it was. They were greatly astonished when they found their loading was twenty cannon, six thousand balls, and other things belonging to the ordnance not very portable. They alleged, that such heavy pieces could not be comprehended in goods of carriage; but having threatened to seize their carts and horses, and they not being willing to lose the expences they had been already at, resolved to do what was required of them: and I had the satisfaction to see all this luggage arrive safely in sixteen days at Lyons; whereas, by the ordinary methods, it could not be done in less than two or three months, and at an infinite expence.

It was always doubted whether the king would seriously renew the war, till his majesty was seen to take his rout to the Alps. The chancellor Bellièvre, who had persisted in his endeavours to dissuade him from it, finding my advice prevailed, came to me with an intention to make me approve, if possible, of the reasons he had against it. I did not regard him as one of those persons with whom to enter into an explanation would have been useless. His sincerity appeared

appeared in the manner in which he spoke to me, and the reflections with which his mind seemed to me to be agitated; the condition France was in, for which a war of any kind whatever could not but be fatal: the king's honour, which was engaged to maintain a work so solid as that of the peace of Vervins: the reproach of the infraction of that peace to which he exposed himself: the fear of bringing all the duke of Savoy's allies upon him, to oppose whom he had an army sufficiently provided with artillery indeed, but consisting only of six or seven thousand foot, and twelve or fifteen hundred horse, and (for so Belvédère imagined) destitute of all necessary provisions. This was the sum of the chancellor's objections.

I do not think that, in any passage of these Memoirs, or in the conduct of my whole life, especially since I have been called to the government of public affairs, there is any thing that can lay me under the necessity of justifying myself with regard to too great a propensity for war. Should it appear to any one that, on this occasion, I acted in contradiction to my own maxims, I answer, that, in reality, no maxim, however general it may be, can suit all cases; and supposing war to be (as I really believe it is) an evil at all times, it is also certain that it is often a necessary and even an indispensable evil, when by that only those claims can be supported, which it would be a baseness to renounce; since it must be likewise confessed, that generosity and mildness, two qualities absolutely necessary in sovereigns, yet when employed against the common rules of prudence, degenerate into weakness, and are looked upon as instances of bad conduct.

To this general reply I added the particular reasons for the present war. I shewed the chancellor, that he suffered himself to be unreasonably alarmed: the king of Spain was the only formidable ally, whom it might be apprehended would join the duke of Savoy;

Savoy; but it was to be considered, that the reigning king of Spain was a young man, without experience or abilities for war, sufficiently employed in reducing his own subjects, and wholly guided by a minister as little inclined to war as himself, by the natural turn of his disposition, and a desire of keeping in his own hands the money which must be consumed by a war; and lastly, that he bore no good-will to the duke of Savoy, and was convinced, as well as all Europe, that the king demanded only a restitution of what belonged to him: that this war would appear a mere difference between the king and the duke of Savoy, or rather an effect of the intoxication of the latter, occasioned by an ill-grounded presumption, and the intrigues carried on in his favour in the council of France: and this presupposed, the success of the war depended upon its being pursued with expedition. I maintained to the chancellor, that, with four thousand men this year, the king would gain greater advantages, than with thirty thousand the next, but I did not neglect to prove to him, that his majesty was not so unprovided as he imagined, at least, that he should not want for two things, which, in the offices I held it depended upon me to furnish him with, that is money and artillery. Bellévre was so far from being convinced by my arguments, that he left me with chagrin: the event will shew who had the best reasons on his side.

THE duke of Savoy seeing that, contrary to his expectation, a French * army was ready to fall upon him, had recourse to his usual artifices, to prevent, at least, any act of hostility before the winter was

* He was encouraged, it is said, by certain idle predictions of astrologers, who gave out that, in the month of August, there would be no king in France: a thing that proved very true, says Perefixe, for at that time he was victorious in the heart of Savoy.

begun.

begun. He sent deputy after deputy to his majesty at Lyons; sometimes he appeared willing to perform the agreements, sometimes he eluded them by specious reasons, and at other times, he proposed advantageous projects for his majesty, and continued to impose upon this prince so completely, that Henry believing he should be under no necessity to go farther than Lyons, staid there much longer than he ought to have done. While I continued with Henry in this city, I guarded him against the subtilties of the duke of Savoy; but, as soon as I left him to return to Paris, to hasten, as I have said, the preparations for war, the king was so effectually deceived by the duke's pretended sincerity, that he wrote to me to suspend my cares, for every thing was settled in an amicable manner.

IN effect, the duke of Savoy had agreed to all that was demanded of him, but this was a mere verbal agreement, and proposed that hostages should be given on each side; a very proper management to delay the performance of his word, by the time that was necessarily taken up in naming those hostages, and sending them to each other. I wrote to the king very freely my opinion of this pretended accommodation, and did not scruple to disobey his orders, by forwarding the ammunition *, and came in person to Montargis, from whence I sent my baggage up the Loire, intending to ride post myself. Here it was that I received a letter from the king, which contained only these few words, "You have guessed truly: the duke of Savoy has deceived us; come to me as soon as possible, and neglect nothing that may be necessary to make him sensible of his perfidy." I was informed more particularly of all that had passed, by a letter from Villeroy. The king had

* Matthieu, in the account which he gives of this expedition into Savoy, bestows, in several places, high encomiums on the duke of Sully, and in a great measure ascribes to him the honours of that campaign. Tom. II. liv. ii. p. 352, 361, 363, &c.

sent for Roncas, from whom he had received so little satisfaction in the explanation he demanded of him, that, resolving to press him in such a manner as to leave him no subterfuge to have recourse to, the Savoyard deputy at length betrayed himself by his equivocations, which threw the king into so great a rage, that he would hear no more, and instantly took his rout towards Chamberry; and it was from this place that the abovementioned billet was dated. His majesty imagined that this city would surrender at his approach, and that he should not be at the trouble of investing it; but in this he was mistaken.

THIS interval was employed by the king in soliciting his marriage with the princess Mary of Medicis; and this negotiation, which was highly pleasing to the pope, was of service to the king, in hindering his holiness from taking any part in the affairs of Savoy. D'Alincourt, whom his majesty had sent to Rome on this occasion, obtained all that he demanded: the marriage was concluded on, and nothing now remained but to send some person to Florence, to solemnize it by proxy. Bellegarde earnestly solicited for this honour; but all he could obtain was to be the bearer of the procuration, which was given to the duke of Florence.

WHILE this ceremony was performing in Florence †, Henry thought it necessary to appear wholly taken up with balls, plays, and entertainments: however, that did not hinder him from laying out no less assiduously the whole plan of the campaign: he ordered Lesdiguières to take an exact view of the castle of Montmelian; and upon his report, that with twenty pieces of cannon, and twenty thousand discharges, it might be taken, he resolved to attack it. He likewise caused that of Bourg-en-Bresse to be reconnoitred by Vienne and Castenet, who were with me; and it being their opinion that

† See the whole account of it in *La Chronologie Septennaire*, an. 1600.

the place might be carried, it was resolved to endeavour the taking of these two towns by petard and in the same night: and in proper time besiege the two citadels in form. Marechal Biron, to whom his majesty committed this enterprize, gave the expedition of Montmelian to Crequy, and reserved that of Bourg to himself.

THE king had, without knowing it, pitched upon him, amongst all his general officers, who was the least likely to give success to the enterprize. Biron was at that time deeply engaged with the duke of Savoy. It is thought that his treaty might have been at least rough drawn or sketched out by this time. He sent word to Bouvens, the governor of Bourg, to be upon his guard, and informed him of the night and the hour when it was designed to surprise him. All this was afterwards proved. But what is singular enough, this treachery did not hinder the taking of Bourg, and on the same night that it had been resolved to attack it.

BOUVENS communicated the advice he had received to the garrison and inhabitants of Bourg, exhorted them to defend themselves bravely, kindled great fires, doubled, nay, trebled the corps-de-guard, and, in a word, took all possible precautions on the night that he expected to be attacked, even to the standing centinel himself. Every one impatiently expected the hour mentioned in the billet, which in reality was to be that of the attack. However, it happened that marshal Biron, who was himself at the head of his troops, either to give the governor more time, or to render the enterprize impossible to be executed, or perhaps by mere chance, took a road so far about, that instead of midnight, it was break of day when he appeared before Bourg. He would then have persuaded his officers to defer till another time an attempt which at such an hour was very improper. But his opinion was so strongly opposed by Saint-Angel, Chambaret, Loustrange, Vi-

enne, and particularly by Castenet, who had undertaken to fix the petard in open day, even though the bastions should be filled, and likewise by Boësse†, to whom his majesty had promised the government of it; that Biron, fearing lest he should incur the imputation of cowardice, and believing that the design would miscarry, was obliged to consent to it.

THE affair turned out quite otherwise: the garrison and the citizens having been upon the watch till two, three, and even four o'clock, were of opinion that the enterprize was blasted, or that it was merely imaginary; and when day appeared, went to breakfast, and to refresh themselves with sleep; leaving the care of guarding their walls to some centinels, who being oppressed with sleep, acquitted themselves very ill of their charge. Castenet, with three faithful men whom I had given him, advanced as far as the counterscarp, with each a petard in his hand, followed by twelve men well armed, and of tried bravery: the centinel cried, "Who goes there?" Castenet, whom I had instructed, answered, That they were friends of the city, who were come to advertize the governor, that some troops had appeared at the distance of two thousand paces, and were gone back: he added, That he had much more to say to monsieur Bouvens from the duke of Savoy; and desired the soldier to go and inform him of it, that the gate might opened. The centinel quitting his post to go to the governor's house, Castenet, without loss of time, advanced to the gate and fixed his petard, which carried off the draw-bridge, and made a breach, through which, the ditches not being very deep, twelve men, by the help of short ladders, entered immediately, and after them the whole army. All this was executed with such rapidity, that the city was filled in a moment with our men, and Bouvens had only time enough to retire precipitately, with his garrison, into the citadel.

† Peter de Escodaca de Boësse.

THE town of Montmelian* was taken in the same manner; and Chamberry, by his majesty's orders, was invested: the citizens, full of terror; thought not of defending the town, but fortified themselves in the castle, where at first they made a shew of resistance; however, they capitulated the next day, being intimidated by a battery of eight pieces of cannon, the fire of which they durst not stand. By the order his majesty caused to be observed, there was not the least violence committed. The French ladies, who followed their husbands in this expedition, settled at Chamberry; and the next day after the reduction of it, my wife gave a ball to the principal ladies of the town, where all appeared as gay as if it had not changed its master.

AFTER this, the king sent me to Lyons, to give orders for the furnishing and conveyance of the ordnance; and commanded me to visit, in this journey, the citadels of Saint-Catherine, Seissel, Pierre-Chatel, l'Ecluse, and other fortresses of Bresse, particularly the castle of Bourg: he ordered me likewise to provide a quantity of gabions, three feet in height and nine in width; upon which I answered him, that such gabions were only proper to make an enclosure for sheep newly bought up in the country. The king, on his side, in the mean time, went to possess himself of Conflans, Miolens, Montiers, Saint-Jacome, Saint-John de Morienne, and Saint-Michael: not one of these places held out against the cannon. The taking of Miolens restored liberty to a man who had been detained in the prisons there fifteen years; Feugerès brought him to me on account of the singularity of a prediction that had been made him, upon the duration of his captivity,

† Consult likewise, on all these military expeditions, De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chronologie Septenn. an. 1600. in which Sully is mentioned with great honour. See likewise tom. I. des Mem. de Bassompierre.

and the person by whom he should be delivered ; which was found to be exactly fulfilled.

I LEFT Lyons, to execute the commission his majesty had given me. I reached * Villars by dinner-time, and Bourg in the evening, where I was received and treated with great politeness by marechal Biron. When he found that I came to take a view of the citadel, he used his utmost endeavours to dissuade me from it ; representing to me, that I exposed myself to evident danger. He was certainly right : the enterprize was full of hazard ; but it was because that this marechal, having failed in his attempt to hinder me from executing my design, had given the enemies (for I cannot think otherwise) such exact informations, that wherever I presented myself I found a battery against me. Notwithstanding this, I continued there night and day, till I had finished all my observations.

BIRON, who probably had expected that I should pay dear for my curiosity, finding that I had escaped, laid other snares for me : on the day that I was to leave Bourg and return to Lyons, I received advice, that a party of the enemy, consisting of two hundred men, had arrived at a castle near the place where I was to lodge that night. I took notice of it to Biron, who then had none of that obliging solicitude for my safety which he had discovered before, and treated the information as a jest ; which raised my suspicions. I asked him for an escort of soldiers ; which he excused himself from granting, telling me ; that he would commit this care to his own guards ; but he privately ordered them to return, and leave me at Villars ; which they did, notwithstanding my intreaties to the contrary, as soon as I alighted at Villars, and my mules were unladed. The design of this proceeding appeared now but too plain. I ordered my mules to be loaded again, and travelled

* In the Upper Bresse.

four leagues farther, nor stopped till I came to Vimy, where I thought myself in safety. My suspicions that Biron had undertaken to deliver me up to the duke of Savoy were changed to a certainty, when I learned that three hours after I had left Villars, the two hundred men came and stormed the house I had been at, and seemed very much concerned that they had missed their blow.

A courier from his majesty waited for me at Lyons: his business was, to get a train of artillery to force Conflans, the only one of those little towns which the king had attacked that made any resistance, and which surrendered immediately at the approach of the cannon. The king, whom I went to visit at Saint-Pierre d'Albigny, told me, that he was afraid he should not accomplish so easily his designs upon Charbonnières and the castle of Montmelian; and seemed to make some difficulty about undertaking those sieges at the approach of winter. I assured his majesty, that instead of five months (for so long he imagined the siege of Montmelian would last) it might be ended in so many weeks, provided that during that time the works were carried on with vigour. The king gave no credit to what I said on this head, and after I had left him said to my brother and La-Varenne, that my enemies would take advantage of my presumptuous manner of talking. However, the attention with which I had examined the weak parts of this castle, which had apparently escaped the observation of others, convinced me that I had not advanced any thing lightly.

THE next day, the king taking a journey to Grenoble, left the command of the army in his absence to me. During this time, I no longer employed myself in observing Montmelian; under the cannon of which we were, but in forming the plan of the out-works, and of the disposition of those batteries with which I expected to carry the fort. I went afterwards to the king at Grenoble, who had passed his

his time in deliberation with his council upon this enterprize, which he had forbid me absolutely to begin in his absence. I insisted again upon the reasonableness of undertaking it; and again found the same opposition. I know not whether it was through enmity to me, or attachment to the duke of Savoy, that the count of Soissons, the duke D'Epernon, La-Guiche, and many others, appeared so unreasonable: amongst all the counsellors, only messieurs de Lefdiguieres and de Crequy were of my opinion. I laid the plan I had just finished upon the table, and went out, saying, that while they deliberated whether Montmelian should be attacked, I would go and put myself in readiness to take it; and in the mean time would fall upon Charbonnières, that the example of this fort, for the taking of which I demanded only eight days, might teach them what to expect from Montmelian.

ACCORDINGLY, I laid siege to Charbonnières, where I suffered incredible fatigues; the first difficulty was to bring the cannon to bear on the place; the only road that led to it was extremely narrow, bordered on one side by the river Arc, of which the bank was all along perpendicularly steep, and on the other by impracticable rocks: they could with difficulty travel a league a day, because they were every moment obliged to unharness the cannon, one of the wheels almost always running over the side of the precipice. We were certain at least of favourable weather; for in this climate it is generally fair during the autumn; however, there now fell such violent rains that the road was all under water, and the eight days which I had thought sufficient for taking the place, had been almost wholly consumed in bringing up the carriages. This was my excuse in the council against the malicious remark which the count of Soissons and others did not fail to make upon the promise I had given. The king, who that moment looked at me attentively; perceiving that
my

my face was very red, and all overspread with pimples, ran to me, and unbuttoning my clothes, examined my neck and breast, crying, "Ah! my friend, you are very ill." He sent immediately for Du-Laurens †, who, after examining those pimples, said, that by bleeding and taking a little care of myself they would be removed. I had, indeed, over-heated myself with labour; and, when in a violent sweat, had been wet quite through my clothes with the rain, without perceiving it. I was bled as soon as I got to my quarters, which were at Semoy: the king had his at Rochette, from whence he sent Thermes the next day to know how I was; and was greatly surprised to hear that his messenger had found me on horseback, visiting my batteries.

BEFORE I erected them, I was willing to take a more exact view of the place, beginning with Aiguebelle, for that was the name of the little town at the foot of the fort. It seemed to me that I was known every where, and that there was a general conspiracy against me; for as often as I appeared in view, a volley was discharged upon me. The rock upon which Charbonnières is situated, appearing inaccessible on all sides, and not to be taken by the cannon, I was greatly afflicted: however, examining it more narrowly, I thought that I had found out a part where what seemed on the outside a natural rock, might probably be a place filled up with earth covered with green turf. I repressed the joy this discovery gave me, till the night afforded me an opportunity of being convinced of it. I approached very near the wall, being favoured by the darkness of the night, and was transported with joy, when, upon trying the ground with my pike, I found that it went down as I desired, and that this bastion was such as I had believed it to be. I was no longer in

† André Du-Laurens, the king's physician.

doubt on what side I should batter the fort, and no difficulty now remained, but to find out some place proper for erecting these batteries; for Charbonnières is, indeed, surrounded with mountains that command the town, but so steep that a man can hardly ascend them on foot. I began again to creep along these mountains, which, in reality, had a terrible appearance, and all seemed wholly inaccessible to the cannon, except one, upon the declivity of which, I saw a road where it was not impossible but some pieces of cannon might be heaved up by main strength. Unfortunately the access to this road was by another which passed so near the fort, that they might pelt us from thence with stones.

THIS was another obstacle, which did not, however, cool me in my attempt. I chose out two hundred French, and as many Swiss, to each of whom I promised a crown, provided they could, by this road, bring up six cannon, which I gave them, and mount them on an eminence that I pointed out to them. I pitched upon a very dark night for this work, recommending to them particularly, to make as little noise as possible; and, to prevent the besieged from observing it, caused horses and carmen to advance in the opposite roads, whose cries and the smacking of their whips, drew all the enemy's fire to that side, but with no effect; for these carts were covered, in their march, by trees, gabions, and even by the walls, while my men that were employed in forcing up the cannon, escaped the notice of the besieged, who were deafened with the noise of their own fire. I appointed La Vallée †, lieutenant of the ordnance in Brittany, and other officers, to watch over and encourage my men in this uncommon method of carriage. It rained so violently, that La Vallée and the rest of the officers left their post to go to supper, and the soldiers their cannon,

† Michael de la Vallée Piquemouche, governor of Comper.

when they were got about half way. This was what I had expected; and, having taken that road, I met them in their retreat, and gave them a severe reprimand, threatening them that they should have no pay for three months, and brought them all back that instant to their task, which they resumed, and the cannon again began to move. I did not quit them till I saw them out of danger, which did not happen without receiving some check: their delay at length occasioned their being discovered, and six were killed and eight wounded.

I GOT back to my quarters while it was yet dark, soaked through with the rain, and so disguised with dirt, that I was not to be known, but full of joy that my six pieces of cannon were out of danger, though not yet upon the top of the rocks. I slept an hour, and breakfasted, and returning to my work, met La Vallée, who, not knowing what I had done, began to value himself upon the performance of the night. The reproaches I loaded him with, while I contradicted what he said, ought to have covered him with confusion: but he was the most undaunted liar I ever knew, "What! yeat have been there then," said he, without the least discomposure. "Well, I sincerely confess I am a fool." "You are so, indeed," replied I, "and something worse; but avoid such a behaviour for the future, and repair your fault." It was not doubted but the besieged would endeavour to make themselves amends for their being surprized; which did not hinder the cannon, by the mere force of my men's labour, without any assistance from the horses, from being placed upon the rock at nine o'clock, where, during that time, I had made provision of gabions, planks, and every thing that was necessary to make platforms there.

BUT, when the gabions came to be filled, no earth was to be found within half a league of the place: all that could be got in this stubborn ground was stony,

stony, and could not be used for making port-holes and platforms, without running the danger of haming all who were employed in the work. The officers for want of this usual defence, seeing themselves exposed to the whole fire of the place, came, in great consternation, to acquaint me with the condition they were in. I told them, without any appearance of emotion, that they should begin directly the palisade, which I had ordered them to erect along the borders of the rocks, making it very high and thick, to deprive the enemies, at least of the sight of the cannon, which otherwise they would be able to dismount; and this was performed immediately, these mountains being almost covered with wood. To supply the rest, I ordered the carpenters, and pioneers of the army, to cut down two hundred large beech trees, which were cleaved into billets, some round to fill up the gabions, others square, to make a secure lodgment for the six pieces of cannon; and the better to conceal their last situation from the enemy, to which the branches of the palisade greatly contributed, I contrived, that there should be on each side several openings filled with baskets of earth; upon which the enemy made a continual fire, without knowing at what part of the palisade the artillery was placed, till the moment when we were prepared to dismount the battery of the fort, and throw down the palisade by which our cannon had been concealed. At two o'clock in the afternoon, this work was completed; and about an hour afterward his majesty came to visit it, and embracing me, assured me of the satisfaction it gave him. He saw no obstacle that should hinder us from beginning to batter the place. I represented to him, that it was still necessary to delude the besieged till night: this prince submitted to my opinion; but the count of Soissons, d'Epéron, La Guiche, and Villeroi, who attended him, making observations that his cannon was pointed against a rock,

rock, on which it would be useless to lose more time, Henry came to me and said, that he would have them fire, that instant, some volleys upon the opposite ravelin : again I contested this point with him, and perhaps with rather too much heat ; for it gave me great uneasiness to see a work, that had cost me so much labour, likely to be ruined by too much precipitation. My resistance put Henry into a passion ; and he again, and in a very absolute manner, commanded me to obey him, even adding, that I forgot he was the master. “ Yes, fire,” replied I immediately, “ you are the master, and shall be “ obeyed, though at the expence of ruining every “ thing.” I caused the palisade to be thrown down, and gave orders that they should fire ; but I would not be a witness of it, and withdrew in great discontent. As the guns were not aimed, every body took upon them to direct them according to his own mind, but no one hit the right place. After a hundred ineffectual discharges, the king sent La Guesle for me, to complain to me of the faults of my batteries. I replied, that I intreated his majesty would excuse me ; for it being now sunset, it was no longer time to undertake any thing. His majesty ordered the firing to cease, and every one withdrawing, I came and lay in the midst of my batteries, which I caused to be completed during the remainder of the night, notwithstanding the rain that fell in great abundance. The besieged, on their side, laboured as hard, and were not without some apprehensions that they should find the place, to which they gave the most attention, defective : I judged so by the fires and candles which I saw lighted up in the fort, and contented myself with interrupting their security, by firing some discharges from time to time.

At the break of day, there arose so thick a fog, that, at six o'clock, the fort could not be seen : this unlucky accident gave me great uneasiness, because all my batteries were ready ; and I had boasted over

night,

night, that I would take Charbonnieres the next day. I fancied, however, that the agitation of the air, occasioned by the cannon, might possibly disperse the fog, and I caused some volleys to be fired. Either by chance, or by a natural effect, that which I had jestingly proposed, succeeded almost beyond my hopes. No sooner had the rest of the artillery answered the cannon from the top of the mountain, than the fog wholly disappeared. The besieged had been all night employed in erecting a battery of four pieces of cannon over-against my six, which the imprudence committed the day before had discovered to them, and which, at that instant, they endeavoured to dismount. I found that there was no time to be given them, and caused a piece to be pointed directly opposite to their port-holes, which rendered two of their four cannons useless, killed one gunner, and wounded two others: but this did not happen till after their discharge had killed on our side, six gunners, and two pioniers, and at length made our pieces useless, till they were dislodged from thence.

THE king ran thither upon the noise, at nine o'clock, and ordered his dinner to be brought to a place where I had contrived in such a manner, that he might see every thing that passed without danger. This was an inclosure made with the largest trees, laid at their length one upon another, in the form of a rampart. I shewed his majesty the bodies of those that had been just killed, and made him sensible, that this was the consequence of the bad counsel that was followed the day before. I did not say this without design, perceiving that the same persons continued still to find fault with my work, and to prejudice his majesty against me. I did not suffer myself to be at all discomposed with their observations, and told them haughtily that, not having yet eat any thing, though I had laboured hard all night, I would leave the place free to any of them that were desirous of playing the grand master of the ordnance;

ordnance; but that, at my return, if they did not permit me to order my batteries as I pleased, I would abandon them entirely. My table, as grand master, consisted of forty covers, and was placed under a kind of half arch, formed by nature in the rock, and hung with ivy. The king sent me a large trout pye, which was sent him from Geneva. My dinner was soon over, and I went again to intreat his majesty that he would suffer me to perform the duties of my employment alone, and renewed my promises that I would make him master of Charbonnieres that day. The king replied that he would be contented if it was taken in three days: upon which La Guesle said, that, if he was in the place, he should know how to hinder it from being taken in a month. Go there then, said I to them all, fatigued with their impertinence, and if I do not hang you all to-day, let me pass for a boaster.

THE king then withdrew into his enclosure, and delivered me from the importunate presence of his courtiers for three hours, which he passed in waiting for his dinner, at table, and in surveying the park of artillery. At the end of this time, I saw him come back again with the count of Soissons, to whom he said loud enough for me to hear, "This place will not be taken to-day." The count answered, with great complaisance, That his majesty, who had more knowledge of war than any person whatsoever, ought to make use of his authority to force me to obey, instead of wasting time in battering a rock, which could not be hurt by the cannon. I had my revenge that instant. The king came just at the time that the enemy beat a parley, and the lieutenant of the place came out to treat with me. I intreated his majesty to have no part in the capitulation; and I told the lieutenant that he might go back again, for I was resolved the garrison should surrender at discretion. The lieutenant returned with a personated boldness, saying that there were

still two hundred men in the fort who were able to hold it out eight days longer. Henry withdrew, leaving Lefdigueres and Villeroi with me, who persuaded me to accept of the conditions offered by the besieged. Lefdigueres even carried me towards the fort, to shew me that the enemies were not reduced to extremity. I stopped him when we came within two or three hundred paces of the curtain, telling him, that it would be rashness to expose himself to the mouth of the cannon of the fort; and I withdrew to a rock a hundred paces distant, which served me as a shelter, while these gentlemen very unseasonably rallied me for my caution; but they soon changed their tone when a dreadful fire obliged them to follow me.

THE lieutenant of the fort returned a second time, but with proposals little different from the former. I sent him back without hearing him: upon which Villeroi said, That, if the city failed of being taken that day, he could not dispense with himself from acquainting the king that it was owing wholly to me. I pretended not to hear him: and, sending the besieged my last resolutions in writing, ordered the artillery again to play: the second discharge set fire to the powder of the besieged, and killed twenty or twenty-five of their men, and six or seven women; at the third, the little ravelin fell down entirely, and they could no longer bring any assistance to the breach, because the cannon sweeping along a low path that led to it, at every fire destroyed some of their best soldiers. This made them resolve to beat a parley once more, which I pretended not to hear, although I saw their drummer carried up in the air at the height of twelve feet, by a cannon ball which entered the ground where he stood, but did him no other hurt. The besieged then held up a pike, with a flag fastened to the top, crying out that they surrendered, and implored us to cease firing. Yet the artillery continued to play,
till

till the enemies, holding out their hands over the breach to our soldiers, I was afraid some French would be killed amongst them. I then mounted my horse and entered the city on full gallop. It was lawful to treat it as one carried by assault; but that heart must be wholly impenetrable to compassion, that could not be softened by a sight so truly pitiable as now presented itself: it was the women, the wounded, and those that were scorched by the fire, who came and threw themselves at my feet. I never in any other place beheld the sex so lovely as in this city, nor so finished a beauty as one woman in particular who came to implore my mercy: instead of executing my threat, to hang all the inhabitants, I gave the same conditions I had offered at first, and caused the garrison to be conducted to a place of security which I had appointed for them.

NOTWITHSTANDING this success with Charbonnieres, I still found great opposition in the council to my proposal of attacking the castle of Montmelian. The debate ran very high: "Take care what you do," said his majesty to me, prejudiced by the great number that disapproved of the attempt; "for if we are obliged to raise the siege, every one will exclaim against you, and I possibly shall be amongst the first." They were not sensible at that time what a strong train of artillery, well conducted, was able to do at a siege: what had happened at Charbonnieres had so confirmed me in my opinion on that head, that I did not scruple to engage that I would carry Montmelian in five weeks, as I had already promised in a former council: I stipulated only for one condition, which his majesty could not deny me, because he had accepted it, without its being named, and this was, that he should not be present at the siege. I foresaw that it would be very bloody. I produced a plan of the fortress, and of the attack; and every one agreeing that I should

make the attempt, I laid siege to the castle of Montmelian.

THIS castle is situated on a rock almost as hard as that of Charbonnières, and so high that it commands the whole country about it; steep and inaccessible on all sides except that next the city, where the ascent is less difficult, but on which, to make amends, there runs a ditch, cut in the rock itself, and which must have been done with infinite labour with the point of a sharp chissel; besides which, there were three bastions, that could neither be sap-ped nor undermined, their foundations being of rock itself, almost impenetrable, and above a toise and a half deep. The country is strewed with several mountains, but some are so distant, that they appear to be absolutely out of the reach of cannon, and the rocks that are nearest are so steep and pointed at the top, and so rugged and bare, that far from being possible to carry up and make use of cannon, it is difficult to believe that a man could climb up. The castle was then provided with thirty pieces of cannon, with powder for eight thousand vollies at least, a proportionable garrison, and ammunition in great abundance.

THE first thought that occurred to my mind, and supported it against obstacles in appearance unsurmountable, was, that however solid and continued the rock seemed to be, upon which, or rather in which, the bastions were raised, it was not possible that it should be all of equal hardness; and if one part of it only was ever so little weaker than the rest, the artillery I had would secure me the means of opening a passage through it. In order to be convinced, I began to open the trenches before the bastion called Mauvoisin; for otherwise it would have been impossible to have approached near enough to discern whether this whole mass was an entire rock, cut with a chissel; but the rock which we found even with the ground hindered us from carrying on the trenches.

I WAS

I WAS obliged to have recourse to artifice ; and one very dark night caused a hut to be built with clay, and thatched over, very near this bastion, and so low that it could not be thrown down by the cannon : it was shot through and through with the small arms as soon as the day discovered it to the besieged ; but it was not overturned, and none of our men were in it. I suffered the enemy to discharge their rage for some days upon this hut, till of-themselves they should cease to fire ; which at length they did, supposing it had been built there to make them spend their powder in vain. When I found the besieged neglected it, I entered it in the night, taking no other arms with me but a buckler, with which, upon occasion, I could entirely cover my body against the fire. From this hut I carefully examined the whole bastion ; I perceived there a light at the bottom, from whence I concluded that it was hollow, and that it was not an entire rock which could be cut into so deep. Without doubt the besieged were then making some repairs there. The day beginning to appear, I perceived likewise that the flank was uncovered ; and this was proof that it was not a solid rock that formed either ; and that this flank presented itself naked and easy to be pierced with the cannon. I was now satisfied, and had no other care but how to get-out safely, which in broad day could not be done without difficulty, the hut not being above a hundred paces distant from the parapet, which was lined with soldiers, and I had above two hundred to go before I could shelter myself. I seized that moment when the guards being relieved, the soldiers began to be careless, and leaving my buckler in the hut, I began to run as fast as I was able ; four centinels perceiving me, cried out, and fired upon me at the same time ; their musquet-shot whistled about my ears and covered me with gravel and flint stones, but did not

wound me ; before the other soldiers were ready, I had gained the nearest lodgment.

I HAD at first resolved to place a battery of cannon on an eminence on the side of the Isere, where they might be carried up more easily by the help of steps cut by the hands of men ; but having observed, on the opposite side of the water, another eminence which faced the citadel, and which had this advantage, that from thence might be seen the road that led to the wells of the castle, and to the magazine, the entrance of the tower, and the guard-house ; I preferred this last, and considered upon the means to carry up six pieces of cannon. This eminence was perpendicularly steep on all sides but one, and even this side of the ascent was a league about : but this was not the greatest difficulty ; to plant them there we must level rocks of such hardness, that most of the officers thought the enterprize ridiculous.

THE enemies were not of the same opinion : as soon as they found that we had undertaken to make a lodgment upon the edge of the rock, they pointed six pieces of cannon there likewise, and made a continual fire : the first volley was shot one day when I was giving directions about the works, with my staff of command in my hand, dressed in a green coat laced with gold, and a plume of green and white feathers upon my head. I observed that this shot had passed a good deal above my head, and that which followed it as much below : perceiving that they were going to fire a third time, I said to Lesine, Maignan, and Feugeres, that this would be between both ; and that, without doubt, the besieged having perceived me, would take an exact aim. I retired two or three steps behind a shelving part of the rock, from whence I held my pike in one hand, fixed in the place where I had stood myself ; one ball threw down the pike, the other killed three pioneers and two gunners, and broke some glasses

and bottles that had been brought for a refreshment, and were placed in a hole of the rock. This accident was related to his majesty, as an instance of rashness in me; and he wrote to me immediately, that my person being still more necessary to him for the business of the state than war, he desired that I would not act like a mere soldier of fortune, who had a reputation to raise; and that he would recal me, if I disobeyed this command.

HENRY could not resist the desire he had to see the disposition of this siege, and wrote to me a second time, desiring I would dispense with the promise he had given me to the contrary, assuring me, that he would go to those places only that I should appoint, and with no other attendants than the count of Soissons, D'Epernon, Bellegarde, and me. I intreated him at least to disguise himself in an ordinary cloak; and, above all, to shun, at the expence of going half a league about, a certain field strewed over with flint stones, opposite to which the besieged kept a party of thirty or forty soldiers continually, armed with musquets; and ten or twelve pieces of cannon were pointed there, because they knew that our men passed every moment through this field, to go to the new battery raised upon the rock. I did not doubt but that he would have complied with this request; but when he was upon the spot, he could not resolve to use this precaution; and my intreaties being ineffectual, we marched all five in a file. Some musket-shot that we were exposed to at first made two or three of the company look pale; but it was much worse when we entered the field; there was at once so terrible a discharge of the heavy cannon and small-shot, that we saw ourselves in a moment all covered with earth, and our skin scratched with a shower of those little flint-stones. Henry making the sign of the cross, "It is now," said I, that I acknowledge you to be a good catholic." "Let us go, said he, this is a bad place."

We doubled our pace, esteeming it a singular piece of good fortune that none of us were killed, or at least lamed. No one thought of returning the same way, but took the road from the mountains, where I caused horses to be brought for the company.

THE king was a little ashamed of his unnecessary rashness, which was the cause, that some days afterwards, when I sent him notice that all my batteries were finished, his majesty, who was then returned to the Tarantaife, having an inclination to see them, ordered me to make a truce for some hours with the governor. The king's curiosity being satisfied, I was seized with an inclination to exert the prerogative of a grand master exercising his office in the royal presence; but as this could not be done without a discharge of the artillery, which would have been considered as an infraction of the truce, which was not yet expired, to induce the besieged to break it I ordered some commissaries to send certain ammunitions to the battery upon the rock, which they had an occasion for there. The enemy, who had not lost any part of their fierceness, and probably repented of having granted the truce, cried out that it was violated, and that they were going to fire. Accordingly, they fired twelve or fifteen cannon-shot. I had given my men orders, in case this happened, to hold themselves in readiness to answer them immediately by a general discharge. This was the first, and afforded matter for serious reflection to the besieged, when they saw their tower battered by fifty cannon: they were the first to demand a continuation of the truce; especially when a second discharge succeeded so rapidly. From that moment they began to alter their opinion, that the citadel was impregnable, and privately sought out ways to procure an honourable composition.

Two women were by chance the first movers *

* The historian who has given us the life of the duke d'Epemon, ascribes to him the honour of taking Montmelian.

of this accommodation. Madam de Brandis, wife to the governor of Montmelian, and then with him in the castle, amused herself with making little glass toys and pieces of chair-work. My wife being then in the town, she sent her a pair of ear-rings and two chains of exquisite workmanship. Madam de Rosny, in return, sent her wine and venison, and desired to know if it was not possible for them to see each other: they obtained permission for it, and passed three afternoons together with such familiarity, that at length they began to consider how Montmelian might be surrendered with honour. Each acquainted her husband with the subject of their conversations, and we were so far from opposing them, that they were authorised to go on, but concealed from one another that they acted by permission. Madam de Brandis had an indisposition that made the country air necessary for her. Her husband thought he could procure this favour through the interposition of my wife; and she made so reasonable a representation to him of the condition to which he would be soon reduced, without being able to obtain honourable terms afterwards, that he consented to treat with me, and sent me a deputation for that purpose. I dispatched notice of it to the king, who proposed it to his council; and it was there resolved, that a month should be granted to the governor, after which, if he was not relieved, the place should be surrendered. I was very sure that it could not hold out so long, and that it was relying too much upon the doubtful sincerity of an enemy to grant such conditions. I gave my opinion freely, but it was to no purpose to oppose a resolution in which envy had as great a share as fear.

THE king did not begin to repent of having followed the counsels of marechal Biron and d'Epemon rather than mine, till, a little while before the expiration of the time granted to the besieged, a report was spread, that an army of twenty-five thousand

men was coming over the Alps to their assistance. The king acquainted me with the perplexity into which this news threw him: he was determined to meet the enemies and fight them; but he was sensible of the danger he ran, in leaving behind him such a fortress as Montmelian. He asked me if by some means or other there was not a possibility of putting him in possession of it before that time. Difficult as it appeared, it was nevertheless accomplished, and in this manner.

EVER since the suspension of arms, the count of Brandis suffered all strangers to enter his castle who brought provisions and necessaries which the wounded, and even madam de Brandis herself, had occasion for. As there was only one gate to enter by, the croud was often so great that some blows passed between them; for which the governor could not chastise them, because there were a great many Frenchmen amongst them, and therefore intreated me to apply a remedy to this inconvenience: and I now believed that I had found the opportunity I sought for. I placed a guard of fifty chosen men at the gate of the castle, commanded by officers who, being informed of my design, accustomed the guards of the castle to see them enter it, at first three or four only in number, afterwards more, till at length, the garrison not daring any longer either to hinder or fire upon them, they found themselves almost masters of the castle itself, without giving them any assistance; but on the contrary, instead of lessening the disorder, these French did all they could to increase it.

BRANDIS imputed all to the licentiousness of the soldiers; and complained to me of it. I told him, that he might fall upon all those strangers, whom I supposed to be country people. He replied, that he would have done so, but for the great number of my soldiers that were amongst them; and that, rather than do them any violence, although without any intention to break the conditions, he chose to con-
fide

side to me the care of putting an end to the disorder. I seemed to yield to this expedient (which was what I most ardently wished) only to restore order and quiet, and told the governor, that I could easily accomplish it, if I had a guard within equal to that without: he consented to it, and I caused fifty soldiers to enter; but these were not all, thirty had got in before, and a much greater number had slipped in with them; I came thither myself likewise, with all my train: and from that time our party was so strong, that the fort and part of the tower was at our disposal.

BRANDIS then found the fault he had committed, but could repair it no otherwise than by shewing himself still more generous. He came to me and told me, that he consented I should take possession of the tower, and that he remitted it wholly upon the security of my word. I resolved not to abuse his confidence, and faithfully observed all the articles. I supped and lay in the tower that night; and the next day after that in which I had received this commission from the king, I went to tell him that without any fears from Montmélian, he might march to meet his enemies; which he did in good order, and at the head of his army; but the information he had received was found to be false.

THE garrison of Montmélian marched out after the month was elapsed, and yielded the place to his majesty, who commanded me to settle Crequy there with his company. The garrison was reinforced, and provided with great plenty of ammunition of all kinds. I would have persuaded the king to have dismantled this place, as it must undoubtedly be restored to the duke of Savoy in case of a peace; and to have done the same by all the other conquered fortresses: but the advice of the courtiers, who all seemed to be in the pay of the duke, saved Montmélian from a treatment that good policy required.

THE mystery of this conduct with regard to

Montmelian, as well as many other things, was explained two years afterwards, by the discovery of some letters of marechal Biron in cyphers : he told the duke of Savoy, to whom they were addressed, that he had obtained a month for the garrison of Montmelian, to give him time to raise the siege : that he had nothing to expect from his friends, unless he made an effort to save this place, which could hold out three months longer ; and assured him, that the reduction of it would give him great concern. In the letter he wrote to this prince after the castle was taken, he tells him, that his negligence in succouring it had silenced the French lords in his party, who would have declared against the king, if, by advancing to join them, he had put it in their power to do so with safety. Notwithstanding the caution he observed in not writing their names, they were all so well described, that it was not difficult to know them. The silence I keep with regard to these names is only in favour of some whom the public perhaps has not suspected.

MONTMELIAN was not yet surrendered, when it was reported in the French army that cardinal Aldobrandin, the pope's nephew and legate, was on his way to come and treat with his majesty concerning a peace and his marriage. The king having appointed me to go and receive his eminence with all imaginable honours, I advanced to meet him with a body of 3000 foot, and 500 troopers, all spruce fellows. It was not difficult for him to perceive that it was the grand master of the ordnance who waited for him, by the manner in which he was received at his approach to Montmelian ; the truce affording me an opportunity to make use of the artillery of the place as if it had been my own. Upon this occasion I joined them together, to pay him the greater honour : the signal was given by a white flag raised on the battery of the rock : mine began after a great fire of the small-shot, and was answered by

by that of the castle, in such a manner, that both having time to load again, this double discharge of an hundred and seventy cannons, performed with the utmost regularity, and multiplied by the echoes formed amidst the mountains, had the noblest effect imaginable, though not in the legate's opinion, I believe, who was more frightened than soothed, by an honour so magnificently dreadful, believing all the mountains about him were going to fall down, and had several times recourse to the sign of the cross.

I CARRIED the cardinal to dinner at Notre-Dame de Miens, and forewarned him of two things relating to the business he mentioned to me; one was, that he should give no credit to any of those persons who would make a boast to him of their interest with his majesty; the other, that if they promised him to get all the places taken from the duke of Savoy to be restored without being demolished, he should believe them still less, for he might be assured this would never happen. After this caution, I resigned him freely to those sent by his majesty to fetch him, and continued my hostilities, by besieging the citadels of Bourg and fort Saint-Catherine.

THE latter was attacked before the other, at the intreaty of the citizens of Geneva, whom the king was glad of an opportunity to oblige. Upon our arrival at this fort, which is situated on a rising ground, in an open field, of which it seems to be the centre, marechal Biron, who by chance was near me, asked me to go that instant, on horseback as we were, and reconnoitre the place with him. I told him that we were too gayly dressed, and had too many plumes on, to examine it in open day: for the marechal was mounted on a white horse, and wore a large plume of feathers of the same colour. "No," "no," said he, "you need not be under any apprehension: morbieu! they will not dare to fire upon us." "Let us go then," replied I, "if you will, for if it rains upon me, it will sprinkle upon

D 6

"you."

“you.” Accordingly, we came within two hundred paces of the fort, and observed it a long time, while they only fired twelve or fifteen vollies of small shot, and I believe in the air, although we were about twenty horse; which surprised me greatly. “Certainly, sir,” said I to the marechal, “there is no one within, or they are asleep, or afraid of us.” The king could with difficulty believe this, because being there himself the day before, with six horse only, they fired repeated vollies at his approach; and when I returned the next morning at the break of day, on foot, and with no other company than Erard and Feugeres, I was received with so great a noise of the artillery, that the king sent Montespan thither, believing it was a fallacy. “Whom are these fellows aiming at?” said Montespan to me, finding no-body in sight. “At me, I believe,” replied I, “but I have seen all that I wanted to see.” However, I guessed soon after the reason of that respect which they shewed marechal Biron. I perceived that the flanks of the bastions of Saint-Catherine were so bad, that great part of them had fallen down, and that the ditch was in no better a condition. I assured his majesty, that as soon as the trenches were carried to the extremity of the ditch the place would surrender. In effect, the besieged, who were likewise in want of every thing, demanded to capitulate, if they were not succoured in six days.

AFTER I had opened the trench, I desired leave from the king to make a tour to Geneva: I arrived there the next day, with an hundred horse, and came very seasonably to relieve this city from the terrors which the presence of a great number of catholics within their walls occasioned. Messieurs de Guise, d’Elbeuf, d’Epernon, de Biron, de la Guiche, and many others, were there, with their several attendants. I assured them, that his majesty had their interest at heart, and that I would not leave them while

while those gentlemen continued amongst them: but the remembrance of the late persecutions was yet too recent in the minds of the citizens; they could not be satisfied till I had removed the occasion of their fears; which I did that evening by speaking to those gentlemen, who all left Geneva the next day. The city deputed twelve of their chief citizens, with Beza, their minister, at their head, to compliment his majesty, and to endeavour to obtain a request that they kept very secret; this was, the demolition of fort Saint-Catherine, which they were most ardently desirous of. Beza delivered himself like a man of sense, and one who knew how to praise with delicacy; congratulating the protestants upon the happiness which the reign of so good a prince promised them. Henry thanked the deputies and the city, offering to bestow upon it any of his conquests which should be most convenient for it; and preventing their request, told them in a low voice, that they should have the pleasure to be masters of the fate of fort Saint-Catherine; and that he gave them his word, in my presence (for he held me by the hand at the same time) that no intreaties whatsoever should hinder him from razing it. Upon which the deputies withdrew, extremely well pleased.

His majesty, at cardinal Aldobrandin's request, consented that the conferences on the subject of a peace should be held at Lyons, and appointed the cardinal Du-Perron, the constable, the chancellor, Villeroi, and Jeannin, to treat with the legate: they had yet come to no agreement, when the future queen* arrived in that city. As soon as the king

* This princess left Florence on the 17th of October, having embarked at Leghorn, and, with an escorte of seventeen galleys, landed at Toulon, from whence she came by the way of Marseilles and Avignon to Lyons, where the king arrived post on the 9th of November. As soon as he alighted (I take the following account from the most authentic Memoirs of those times) the queen happened to be at supper; and having a desire to see her at table without being discovered, he

was informed of it he quitted his quarters, and set out in very rainy weather, riding post, with great part of the lords of his court. It was twelve o'clock at night when we got to the bridge of Lyons, and waited there a full hour, wet through with rain, and almost perished with cold, before they would open the gate; for his majesty, that he might have the pleasure of surprizing the queen, would not suffer himself to be named. They had not yet seen each other. The marriage-ceremony was performed without any pomp. We attended the king at supper, who afterwards dismissed us to refresh ourselves likewise; and he retired to the queen's apartment.

His majesty's arrival only increased the warmth with which they contested the articles of the peace; the plenipotentiaries were almost all in the duke of Savoy's interest, and glad of an opportunity to make

he went in as far as the drawing-room, which was very much crowded; but he was known the moment he appeared by those nearest the door, who opened to make way for him: upon which, his majesty went away directly, without going farther. The queen, in the mean time, was well aware of all this, but still gave no other signs than by putting the plates away as often as she was served with any thing, and eat so little, that she seemed to have sat down rather for form's sake than to sup. After the table was removed, she returned immediately to her chamber. The king, who waited only for this, came to her chamber-door, and ordering M. le Grand to go before, he knocked so hard, that the queen thought it must be the king: upon this she stepped forward at the very instant that M. le Grand entered the room, who was followed by his majesty, at whose feet she immediately threw herself. The king raised her up, embraced her with great tenderness, and all that was polite, passionate, and respectful, passed on both sides. After the first compliments were over, the king took her hand, and led her to the fire-place, where he continued talking with her above half an hour; he afterwards went to supper, but eat very sparingly. In the mean time, he bid madam de Nemours tell the queen, that he had not provided himself with a bed, expecting she would give him part of hers, which from that time was to be in common between them. Madam de Nemours carrying this message to the queen, she returned for answer, That she had come thither only to obey his majesty as the humblest of his servants. Upon this, the king undressed, and went directly to the queen's chamber, who by this time was in bed. *Chronologie Septennaire, an. 1600*, where also may be seen the particulars of the queen's journey, and her reception in the towns of France, &c. *De Thou, liv. 125. Matthieu, tom. II. p. 378.*

their

their court to the legate ; which was the cause that Henry thought it necessary to make them give an account of their negotiation, and severely blamed the commissioners for having exceeded the power that was given them. Bellievre and Villetoir had promised the legate, that none of the fortresses which had been taken should be demolished, but especially Saint-Catherine, for which the legate particularly solicited, as being the best, and even the only bulwark the duke of Savoy had against the republic of Geneva. Henry made them sensible, that their precipitation in subscribing to an article of this importance, without consulting him, had given him some suspicion of them ; and added, that in a few days he would acquaint them with his intentions upon that head. Then sending for me, he told me, that the shortest way to prevent the solicitation which he expected from the legate, would be to blow up the five bastions of the fort, and to send word to the citizens of Geneva to come and complete the demolition of it. No order was ever more expeditiously nor more effectually executed. The Genevois, in one night, laid this citadel even with the ground, and carried away all the materials so carefully, that the next day it could with difficulty have been believed that there ever had been a fort in the place ; and at first the report ran, that it was destroyed by lightning. When the truth was known, the legate expressed great resentment at it, and did not scruple to confess, in the heat of his passion, that I was the only person who had not deceived him with flattering hopes on this head, and that he had not sufficiently attended to my admonitions. But his having, upon the faith of the commissioners, given very different expectations to the pope, was what he was chiefly concerned at. For three or four days the negotiation was entirely broke off ; and when it was afterwards resumed, it was with so much animosity on his eminency's part, that he rejected all the propositions that were made

made him. These propositions were, That the duke of Savoy should yield to the king the course of the river Rhone and its borders : That he should not erect any fort within a league of it to favour the Spaniards passage : That he should leave to the republic of Geneva the enjoyment of certain villages specified likewise : That Beche-Dauphin * should be demolished, Chateau-Dauphin restored : and lastly, that the duke should pay an hundred and fifty thousand crowns for the expences of the war.

THE king looking upon this affair as wholly impracticable, through the obstinacy of the legate, resolved to carry on the war more vigorously than before, and communicated his design to me, which was, to go in search of the duke of Savoy at the head of his army ; while I, with the artillery, battered the citadel of Bourg. Each of us had particular obstacles to this double project, besides the want of money, which was common to both. I found the enterprize on Bourg very difficult to be executed; the season being now so far advanced : the difference between this castle and that of Montmelian, with which I think it may be compared, is this, that for those that have only ten or twelve pieces of cannon, Montmelian is equivalent to ten such places as Bourg, because that the reduction of Montmelian depends upon having artillery sufficient to batter the out-works ; but for an army sixty cannon strong, the citadel of Montmelian is not more difficult to carry than that of Bourg ; because this last being more regular than the other, it can only be attacked methodically and by slow degrees. Had the counsel I gave, to attack this fort immediately after the surrender of Montmelian been followed, it would have been now in the king's possession.

WITH regard to this prince, his perplexity was occasioned by his knowing in what manner the great-

* Frontiers of Dauphiné,

est part of his general officers conspired with Spain and the duke of Savoy against him: he had great reason to be apprehensive of engaging himself in the enemy's country, if they were with him: Lefdiguieres was the only one on whom he could depend; he had lately given an instance of his fidelity, in sending notice by Calignon, that the duke of Bouillon made use of a man named Ondevous to carry on his correspondence with the great lords of the kingdom. It is certain, that if Calignon had been more diligent to acquit himself of his commission, Ondevous would not have had time to escape as he did, and his detention might have laid open all the schemes of the seditious; but there is no appearance that this happened through the fault of Lefdiguieres. I advised the king to rely entirely upon him, and to bind him still closer to his service, by making him a marechal of France, and governor of Piedmont. As for the rest, it was easy to prevent the consequences of their ill intentions, by giving them employments at a distance from the body of the army.

BUT the affair that appeared most pressing to us both being to procure a supply of money, it was resolved that I should set out for Paris in four days: and that I might be enabled to pass six entire weeks there, I employed these four days in making all the necessary preparations for the attack of Bourg, in paying the soldiers out of what little money remained, and in providing for the ordinary as well as extraordinary expences of the king's household. The very next day I sent away my wife and my equipages before me, with directions to wait for me at Rouanne, where I proposed, as soon as I arrived, to send them down the Loire as far as Orleans: they waited there for me three or four days longer, because my measures were broke by the alterations that happened in the affair of the peace.

WHEN I went to take leave of the king, he advised

vised me to visit the legate also before I set out, he having always expressed great esteem for me. I went to visit him booted, my post-horses waiting for me on the other side of the river, opposite to his lodgings. He asked me where I was going in that equipage? "To Italy, replied I, and I shall go with good company to kiss the pope's foot." "How!" "to Italy," said he in great amazement: "no, that must not be, sir; I beg you will assist me to renew this peace." I seemed to consent, in respect only to his mediation, the king having laid aside all thoughts of it. I repeated, in a few words, all the principal articles that had been already proposed, and afterwards asked him if he would give credit to what I was going to say to him? Having assured me he would, I told him, that he might be absolutely certain, that of these articles, his majesty would abate none of his demands with regard to the borders of the Rhone, the villages in the neighbourhood of Geneva, Chateau-Dauphin, and Beche-Dauphin; because I was well acquainted with the king's intentions in all these respects. He desired to know my reasons; which I excused myself from telling him, on account of the short time I had to stay. After walking thoughtfully several times backwards and forwards in his chamber, he asked me, if, with the same protestations of sincerity, I would assure him, that, provided he agreed to all these points, there should be no mention made of the other. I told him, that I believed I might promise this. Upon which, he entreated me to go and acquaint the king with what he had said. Henry was glad to see me come back: and I returned a moment afterwards to the legate with full powers from his majesty. And we concluded that * instant a

* M. De Thou, Matthieu, and La Chron. Sept. agree with this account, ib. an. 1601. See also the treaty in the Mem. de Nevers, tom. II. p. 775; &c.

treaty which had languished so long a time; the conditions of which were as follow :

THE duke of Savoy, in exchange for the marquissate of Saluces, which the king of France gave up, was to make a cession to his majesty of the fortresses of Cental, Monts, and Roquesparviere, all Bresse entirely, the borders and country of the Rhone on both sides as far as Lyons, except the bridge of Grezin, and some passages necessary for his highness to enter Franche-Comté; but he was not by this cession to acquire a right to raise any tribute from these places, or to build any fort there, or to ferry troops over, but by the king's permission, and on condition that for this privilege of passing the bridge of Grezin the duke should pay France one hundred thousand crowns: That he should likewise resign to his majesty the citadel of Bourg, the bailiwick of Getx, Chateau-Dauphin and its dependencies, with all that could be comprehended in the province of Dauphiné on this side the Alps: That he should likewise renounce the property of Aus, Chouisy, Vally, Pont d'Atley, Seissel, Chana, and Pierre-Chatel, to the borders of Geneva: That the fortifications of Beche-Dauphin should be razed: That the king should on his side restore all the other forts he had taken which are not specified here, withdrawing the artillery and ammunition that were then placed there. The other articles related to criminals and prisoners of war that had fled on either side, church benefices, exchange of estates between private persons, &c. It was articulated for the duke of Nemours, part of whose estate lay in this country, that he should not be disturbed in the possession of it, neither for the part which he held of the king, nor for that which he held of his highness. The other clauses common to all treaties I shall not mention.

NOTWITHSTANDING this treaty was signed by me for the king, by the legate for the pope, and the duke of Savoy's agents, yet the duke, influenced by the

the count of Fuentes, put off so long the entire conclusion of it, by his complaints and delays, that the king thought it necessary not to lay down his arms: he took post to Paris †, where he waited for the duke's determinations.

IN case there should be a necessity for his returning into Savoy, he had certain measures to take for the affairs within this kingdom, and in Paris especially, at a time when every place was filled with malecontents. He left the constable and Lesdiguières, till his return, with some good troops upon that frontier; and Villeroi and two or three other commissioners at Lyons, to conclude the business of the peace.

BUT his majesty found no occasion to return into these provinces. The duke of Savoy, after having long amused himself with expectations from the disaffected French lords, gave place to more prudent thoughts; and reflecting on what he had already lost by his obstinacy, he thought himself very happy to accept the treaty in the form already mentioned; accordingly the last formalities were added, and the peace was published at Paris and Turin with the usual ceremonies: however, the articles were not executed without many difficulties being raised by the duke of Savoy, which detained Villeroi at Lyons part of the following year: it was not till then that every thing was entirely agreed to; and Spain, who had taken great interest in the affair, even advised the duke of Savoy to comply with the articles of the

† "He departed, says Bassompierre, one night post from Lyons, in order to turn to Paris; and embarking at Rouanne he landed at Briare; from whence he came to lye at Fontainebleau, and next day dined at Villeneuve; and crossing the Seine below the Tuilleries, came in the evening to Verneuil (afterwards Senlis.) We continued three days at Verneuil, and then came to Paris.--- At length the queen arrived at Nemours; and the king, having rode post with sixty fresh horses, came and carried her to Fontainebleau, where after staying five or six days, she arrived at Paris, and was accommodated with apartments at the house of Gondy." Mem. de Bassompierre, tom. I. p. 89, 90.

treaty. On all these occasions Henry paid great deference to the pope. He granted all the delays which the duke of Savoy, by count Octavio Tassone, engaged the legate to demand; which was contrary to Villeroy's advice: but his majesty, having in reality obtained all that he could demand, thought he ought not to observe too rigorously the manner it was yielded to him, nor hazard, for such a trifle, a renewal of the war. This produced as many advantages to the king as any war ended in a single campaign could possibly do. His majesty declared, that Bresse should not be comprehended in the district of Lyons, but it should be re-united to Burgundy, under the jurisdiction of the court of aides at Paris.

THE queen did not set out immediately after for Paris. She had brought with her her uncle Don John, a bastard of the family of Medicis, Virgilius Urfinus her cousin, who being brought up while young with her had conceived hopes above his condition. Many more Italians of both sexes were in her train; amongst others, a young man named Conchini, and a girl called Leonora Galigai, who afterwards played a great part in France. I went to Paris eight days before the queen, to make preparations for the ceremony of her entry †, which was performed with great magnificence. The next day, the king brought the queen and the whole court to the arsenal to dine with me; the queen was attended by all her Italian ladies, who being pleased with the

† It does not appear that this princess was complimented with the ceremony of a public entry into Paris. The citizens, says the *Chronologie Septennaire*, would have prepared a very magnificent one for her, and addressed the king for that purpose; but his majesty chose rather that the expence of the entry should be laid out on other things that were more necessary. It afterwards adds: Upon her arrival at the postern-gate of the suburb St. Marcel, the marquis de Rosny caused all the cannon of the arsenal to be fired three times. She was carried in a litter along the moats of the city, and that day lodged at the suburb S. Germain, at Gondy's house, and the next at Zamet's, and after that at the Louvre. *Ibid.*

wine of Arbois, drank more of it than was necessary. I had some excellent white wine that was as clear as rock water: I ordered some decanters to be filled with it, and when the ladies asked for water to temper the burgundy, they were presented with this liquor. The king suspected by their gaiety that I had played them a trick. This winter was wholly taken up with parties of pleasure, on account of the king's marriage.

IN Flanders, this year, the war broke out with great violence, prince Maurice of Orange gained a battle in the month of May against the arch-duke Albert, in which the † admiral of Castile, the man on whom he chiefly depended, was taken prisoner. He afterwards laid siege to Nieuport, but was obliged to raise it. All I shall say of the war between the Emperor and the Grand Signior in Hungary, is, that the duke of Mercœur was made lieutenant-general here by his imperial majesty. I suppress a detail of the grandeur and magnificence of the secular ‡ jubilee at Rome, and shall conclude the Memoirs of this year with an incident that afforded matter for much serious reflection upon duels: Breauté having * killed his adversary in a very uncommon combat, was afterwards assassinated himself.

† This was the battle of Nieuport, that was fought in the month of July, wherein the Spaniards lost 8000 men. The prince of Orange was nevertheless obliged to raise the siege of Nieuport, and retire to Holland. The greatest part of these foreign transactions are neither fully nor exactly related in our Memoirs; and I therefore think it unnecessary to give an account of them in the notes, but rather refer the reader to the Memoirs and Historians of that time. In like manner consult the general and particular accounts of the military expeditions between the armies of the emperor and the Grand Signior, which are mentioned here.

‡ It was said, that 300,000 French men and women, went to Rome, to obtain the indulgence of the jubilee; concerning which, see the ceremonies in La Septennarie, an. 1600, and other Memoirs of that time.

* Charles de Breauté, a French gentleman of Caux, captain of a troop of horse in the service of the States; his antagonist was a Flemish soldier, lieutenant of a company under the governor of Boisleduc, with whom he fought a singular kind of combat, of twenty French against

B O O K XII.

IN the foregoing book I finished the last military narration that will be found in these Memoirs, in which at least France was concerned. The life of Henry the Great, hitherto wholly passed amidst the tumult of arms, will in the sequel exhibit only the actions of a pacific king, and the father of a family. The manner in which the campaign in Savoy had been conducted and terminated, leaving no room to fear that the peace would be again infringed by these ancient enemies of the monarchy, or that it would not subsist as long as his majesty pleased, I resumed, by his orders, and under his inspection, those schemes with regard to the finances that the war had suspended, and were now to meet with no more interruption. After the representation I have already given of the state of affairs within the kingdom, it would be injurious to consider the life which the prince and myself now embraced as idle and inactive: if it is less noisy and tumultuous, it is probably more laborious. Behold me therefore again shut up in my closet, where I applied myself with the utmost attention to the examination of all the abuses that still remained to be rooted out of the chamber of accounts †; the offices of the finances, the crown lands, the aids, the subsidies, the equivalents, the five large farms, the tenths, and all the rest. I laboured at once for the present and the future, by taking such measures, that the method I established in the direction of every part of the finances should

against the same number of Flemish; he had the advantage in the first encounter, in which he killed his antagonist, but was made prisoner in the second, and put to death by order of the governor of Brisseduc. He was one, says the author of the *Chronologie Septennaire*, that eagerly sought after occasions of duelling, for which reason he had been obliged to quit the court of France.

† As to these reformati^ons, consult likewise Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 444.

not be afterwards subject to any alterations. I considered of means to enrich the king without impoverishing his subjects, to pay his debts, repair his palaces; and strove, with still more assiduity, to complete the art of fortifying his cities, than that of attacking and defending them; and to make provision of arms and ammunition. I extended my cares to the repairing and renewing public works, such as roads, bridges, keys of rivers, and other buildings, which reflect no less honour upon the sovereign than the splendor of his own palaces, and are of general utility: for which purpose I began to look into the application that had been made of the money granted for those uses to the cities and corporations, or rather into the frauds that had been used in the management of these funds.

THE scheme of drawing up an account of every part of the finances, under the title of a general state, which should lay down their nature uniformly and clearly, seemed always so happy a thought, and so proper to bring them to the utmost exactness, that wherever this method was practicable I made use of it. On the first day of this year, when I presented to the king the gold and silver medals, as usual, I gave him at the same time five of these general states, each of which related to one or other of my employments, bound up in one volume very neatly. In the first, which was of the greatest importance, because I there gave an account of all that concerned myself, as superintendant, was set down on one side, all the money that was raised in France by the king from every tax whatever; on the other, all that was to be deducted for the charge of collection, and consequently all that was to be brought clear into his majesty's coffers. I cannot persuade myself that this method was never thought of by any one since the finances were subject to some regulation; but interest alone prevented the execution of it. However that may be, I shall always insist upon it, that without
this

this guide there is no proceeding without mistakes or roguery.

THE second of these states was drawn up merely for the use of the keeper of the royal treasury; here was set down, whence and upon what account he received all the king's money that passed through his hands during the year of his office, and how much he was at liberty to disburse out of the whole sum, and for what purposes. The third was compiled for the use of the master of the ordnance, containing an exact account of money received and expended; with a true inventory of all that relates to the artillery; the number and sorts of cannon, and of other arms, the quantity of instruments of war, and provisions of victual, laid up in different places, or magazines; the state of the arsenals, and fortified places; and other observations of the same sort. The fourth related to the chief surveyor of the roads, and gave an account of all the money disbursed or to be disbursed for the repair of every thing under his charge, whether it was to be done at the expence of the king or of the provinces. And, to conclude, the fifth contained a catalogue of cities and castles, particularly those on the frontiers, that required any money to be laid out upon them; with a kind of rough draught of the works necessary at each place, formed with due regard to their natural situation and present state.

THE king, upon my representation, reformed many abuses with respect to money, which had caused a decay of commerce, of which money is the chief instrument; the first was the practice which was then allowed, of putting money to interest at eight, or even at ten per Cent. * a practice of equal mis-

* It is thus that a prince, in our times, remarkable for his abilities and superior skill in politics, has judged: being firmly persuaded, that the state would receive great advantages in every respect from a regulation that would oblige monied men to betake themselves to commerce and agriculture, which are infinitely preferably to the bare and dead produce of rents.

chief to the nobility and the people; to the nobility, because they, being forbidden to engage in trade, have no other riches but the produce of their grounds, of which the price was brought down by high interest; to the people, because, by putting out money to interest, they made as great profit by sitting still as by labour, and thereby kept immense sums of money useless to the public, which, without that method of growing rich, they would have improved by some means advantageous to the commonwealth. The interest of eight per Cent. was abolished, and six per Cent. allowed in its stead.

THE coin of different countries was till this time current in France, and passed in commerce equally with that of our own sovereign. A prohibition was issued, by which all money was put down but the coin of France *, that of Spain only excepted, which would have been too much missed in commerce had it been at once forbidden. But it was more necessary to rid ourselves of the merchandise of our neighbours than of their money, for the whole kingdom was filled with their manufactures; and it is incredible how much mischief was done by foreign stuffs, particularly those of gold and silver. The importation of these, and of all others, was forbidden under severe penalties: and because France had no means of supplying herself with them out of her own stock, we had recourse to the true remedy, which is,

* It is true, that the species of foreign gold and silver coin ought not to pass current and be confounded with that of the prince in interior commerce, and in payments made between individuals; but is it not evident, that the more such coin abounds among our own money, the more flourishing will our commerce be? The historian Matthieu observes, tom. II. l. iii. p. 446. that this prohibition made the commerce in France fall almost entirely: and the duke of Sully himself agrees, a little lower, that he was obliged to have recourse to other means to retrieve it. We will examine this question with him, when he comes to handle it, in the following book. As to the prohibition of using gold and silver in cloaths and household furniture, we shall also have occasion, in the sequel, to give our opinion on the principles he establishes with regard to luxury.

to do without them; the use of all stuffs wrought with gold and silver being forbidden by an edict †.

ALL these declarations tended to introduce one, by which it was forbidden to carry any species of money out of the kingdom, under the penalty of a confiscation of all that should be intercepted in the carriage, and likewise of all the estates of the offenders, as well those that favoured as those that were guilty of the infringement of this law. The king gave a public proof how much he had this affair at heart, by the oath he made not to grant any pardon for this sort of misdemeanors; and even to hold all those suspected that should dare to solicit him to the contrary: yet all this could only oblige those persons that carried on such practices to conceal them more carefully. I was of opinion, that one example would be more efficacious in correcting this obstinate evil than all the threats that had been published against it. I was not ignorant that a great many very considerable persons, and even amongst the courtiers themselves, made a fund out of this pernicious traffic, either by suffering this money to pass under their names, or by selling at a high price, the authority which enabled them to correspond with the foreigners, and secured the privileges of passage. I thought it most prudent to apply myself to those who were employed by them for these correspondences, and promised them that, as a recompence for their discovery, they should have the fourth part of those sums that were seized by their informations; for the king having made over these confiscations to me, I had a right to dispose of them. By these means I was well served.

A MONTH was scarce elapsed, when I received

† He shewed, by his example, how to retrench the superfluity of dress, for he commonly went clad in a coat of grey cloth, with only a pourpoint of sattin or taffety, without any indented edgings, lace, or embroidery: he commended such as dressed in that plain fashion, and ridiculed others, who carried, said he, their windmills and their old woods on their backs. *Peref. part iii.*

notice from an inconsiderable man, the authors not being willing to make themselves known, that there were two hundred thousand crowns in gold collecting to send abroad, which was to be sent at two different times, and that the first carriage would be much less than the second. After having taken all the necessary precautions, this sum appearing rather too considerable for me, I thought myself obliged to mention it to the king, who made this qualification in the right he had given me, that if the sum did not exceed ten thousand crowns, I might appropriate it to myself, but that the overplus should be his, "Which will come, said he, very seasonably, having had some loss at play that I durst not tell you of, nor make up with my own money." I was not mercenary enough to wait for the profits of the second carriage. I ordered the first to be dogged, and with such vigilance, that it was stopped half a league beyond the territories of France. It could not be done in the kingdom, tho' but a quarter of a league from the frontier, without furnishing the offenders with a pretext for getting it released. There was found in pistoles, double pistoles, and crowns of the sun, to the amount of eight and forty thousand crowns, which had been concealed in some bales of common goods for exportation. The king's resolution on this article was so well known, that the conductors named no person as proprietor of it; and notwithstanding all the noise this seizure made at court, it was disavowed by every one; and this sum was, by his majesty, divided in this manner: seventy-two thousand livres he reserved for himself, five and twenty thousand he ordered should be given to the informer, and the remaining forty-seven thousand he left to me; promising me, that however large any future capture might be, he would take no part of it from me. But after this, no more money was attempted to be carried out of the kingdom; this example had given a general dislike to so ruinous a traffic.

THOSE

THOSE that composed the chamber of justice † which was erected against the contractors, treasurers, receivers, and others who had been guilty of misdemeanors in their offices, were likely, in appearance, to exercise far greater severities. It was my advice, that these offenders should not only be obliged to refund, but that those who were convicted of embezzling the public treasure should be corporally punished. Money however, the possession of which covers all crimes it is the cause of, excepted this from the just rigour of the law †. I would, were it possible, transfuse into the breasts of my countrymen some part of that indignation that fills mine, against so pernicious an abuse, and all that contempt which I feel for those that owe their elevation to it. If we consider as a slight matter, the despicable light we appear in to our neighbours by this shameful custom (for none strikes more directly at the honour of the nation) we cannot conceal from ourselves the evils it has given rise to; nothing has contributed more towards perverting our ideas of probity, candor, and disinterestedness, or to turn those virtues into ridicule; nothing has more strengthened that fatal propensity to luxury, which is natural to all men, but is with us become a second nature, by that peculi-

† Otherwise called the royal chamber: it consisted of a president of the parliament of Paris, two counsellors, two masters of request, a president and four counsellors of the chamber of accounts, a president and three counsellors of the court of aids, and one of the general advocates of the parliament, &c. Commissioners were sent into the provinces, to give them informations of such as were guilty of any malversations.

† The duke of Sully seems to me to reason justly, when, in supposing the utility of the chambers of justice, he requires, that they should not confine their proceedings to pecuniary mulcts only, but join to these corporal punishments. And he seems to me to have still greater reason, when, in the sequel, he advises to suppress this method as absolutely useless; and entirely abolish, in France, the usage of compositions in farming the finances: and this is likewise the opinion of cardinal Richelieu. Testament Polit. part I. ch. iv. § 5.

arity of temper, which makes us fasten eagerly upon every thing that can gratify our passions; and nothing in particular has so greatly degraded the French nobility, as the rapid and dazzling fortunes of contractors and other men of business, by that opinion which they have circulated every where, and which is indeed but too well grounded, that in France this is almost the only method of arriving at the highest honours, and first employments of the state, in the possession of which all is forgot, and to the attainment all is permitted.

To go to the source, military virtue is almost the only quality by which true nobility can, in France, be obtained, preserved, or dignified: and in this practice there will be found no prejudice or empty opinion, if it be considered, that precedence must naturally be granted to that rank, by which all other classes of the community are preserved and supported in that security without which there can be no property: but this state of life is not the way to a great fortune; this simplicity and separation from lucrative purposes shew the antiquity and purity of the first institution. By bravery nothing but honours could be got, because in those times honour was the only reward of glorious actions: in later days, since the notions of mankind are changed, and every thing is rated by the money which it brings, this generous body of nobility is brought in comparison with the managers of the revenue, the officers of justice, and the drudges of business. But this comparison terminates in an universal agreement, to pay to these gatherers of money that respect which must always be shewn to those who are possessed of power, and are, in fact, our superiors, an advantage which the former have lost *. And, in-

* The same cardinal Richelieu complains of this abuse, and proposes a remedy for it, according to the duke of Sully's scheme.

"Gentlemen, says he, cannot be promoted to places of trust and dignity, but at the expence of their ruin; for at present all sorts of
"people,

deed, how should it be otherwise, when we see the nobility of the same mind, with regard to this point,

"people are admitted to them through the infamous traffic carried on by means of money. For the future, all persons should be excluded from those posts, but those that have the good fortune to be of noble birth." This minister concludes, in another place, after M. de Sully; "That the means of continuing the nobility in that purity of manners which they derive from their ancestors (these are his words) is to retrench that luxury and intolerable expence which have been gradually introduced." Part I. ch. liii. § 1. However, the impartiality which I profess obliges me to agree, that the notions of the duke of Sully are overstrained; and that in this passage there is a little of what may be called invective and idle declamation. I anticipate a remark, which we shall have occasion to make in what follows, and that is, the alterations which have happened in the political state of Europe from different conjunctures, and especially from the spirit of commerce, which at this day seems to animate it, have obliged states to recede a little from these old maxims which relate to luxury and expence: and therefore what follows seems to me to be the most reasonable method upon the whole. It is true, that that profession which has for its end the defence of the state, ought to be in the possession of its principal dignities; or, which is much to the same purpose, all manner of regard, honour, and respect, should be paid to them. The duke of Sully has therefore good reason to observe, that of all the professions this has most to fear from luxury and effeminacy. Hence that reluctance officers shew to reside with their regiments: and that aversion of the young nobility to a study, which ought entirely to engage their attention. Hence that Asiatic pomp of high living, and those excessive pleasures into which armies are usually plunged. Hence it follows, that soldiers, who from their youth have been only habituated to debauchery, are unable to undergo the fatigues and inconveniences of a campaign. And, lastly, we will farther agree with M. de Sully, that the abuses accruing from unequal marriages, are at this day carried to an almost shameful height; and that, in general, we have too much neglected a piece of policy, which has always been looked upon, and that with very good reason, as one of the principal foundations of the strength of a state, a strict attention in making matrimony be honoured and respected. But after all these concessions, we must likewise agree, that one of the chief cares of a sovereign being to maintain and strengthen unanimity between his subjects, by banishing jealousies from among the different ranks, and the mutual animosities of the several orders towards each other, and war not being, as formerly, the true, and even the only means, of rendering a kingdom flourishing, the greatest part of the maxims laid down with this view are unsupported. Would it not be much fitter to oblige the numerous families to divide themselves equally among the different employments in the army, the navy, the church, and commerce, and to permit the nobility to engage in trade; as a means without which it will henceforth be impossible for the great families to support themselves? We will resume the handling this subject pretty often; but

as the meanest of the people, and making no scruple to mingle the most illustrious blood in a shameful alliance with a dirty pedlar, who knows nothing but the change, his shop, his counter, and his knavery? This abuse is necessarily productive of two others, confusion of ranks, and degeneracy of families; which last is better proved by experience than argument. We need only take a view of that great number of mongrel gentry with which the court and city is filled, and we shall find them wholly destitute of the plain and manly virtue of their ancestors; no depth of thought, no solidity of judgment, rash, inconsiderate, a strong passion for play, a natural propensity to dissoluteness, a solicitude for dress, and vitiated taste in every kind of luxury; that one would imagine they thought to exceed even the women in the effeminacy of their manners: yet these people engage in the army, but with such dispositions, to which is often added a secret contempt for the profession they embrace, what can be expected from them? This subversion of all order is indeed to be lamented, but is inevitable, while that profession, which has only glory for its object, is not exalted to the highest rank, and dignified with the chiefest honours, which, for that purpose, ought to be taken

it is certain, in general, that a moderate degree of attention is sufficient to make it plain, that the maxims of government, as to politics and commerce, should not at present be absolutely the same as they were a thousand years ago. It may be imagined, that as to the alterations necessary to be made in all these respects, we could not do better than rely upon the various conjunctures, and the natural dispositions, which render all mankind so clear-sighted with regard to their own interest and welfare. However, a fatal experience has but too well taught us, how dangerous it is to leave to the giddy multitude the choice of the means how to arrive at it. Of these alterations there are some which ought to accompany, or follow, and be naturally subordinate to, each other; a thing which the rabble can neither discern nor relish. There is in every thing excess or abuse which they can neither foresee nor prevent. And this is the great point in the art of government, an art which requires continual application and attention. The hand of the pilot is not necessary to bear up the vessel upon the waves; but without it, she will in the end be dashed against rocks, or at least never be able to reach her wished for port.

from

from the upstarts of Fortune; and since the infamy which we should find these creatures of chance stained with, if we took pains to examine them, is not sufficient to draw our contempt, it is necessary they should be branded with public marks of disgrace, to signify the rank they ought to hold.

THE king was convinced by the justness of this reasoning. However, in this chamber of justice, the same thing happened that generally does: the little rogues paid for all the rest; the principal delinquents found their security in that very metal for which they were prosecuted; they made use of a small part of it in presents, which saved the other. This qualifying would not have prevailed with the king had it been employed directly; but it found acceptance with the ladies of the court, and even with the queen herself; they gained the constable, Bouillon, Bellegarde, Roquelaure, Souvré, Frontenac, and some others, who, though not of this high class, knew as well how to work upon the king's inclinations; such were Zamet, La Varenne, Gondy, Boneuil, Conchini, and many more of that sort. The complaisance of this prince for all those whom he suffered to live in some degree of familiarity with him, and especially for ladies, destroyed all his wise resolutions, so that the storm fell only upon those that had reason to reproach themselves with not having yet stolen enough to put their thefts in security. The retrenching of part of those officers of all ranks, with which the bar and the finances abounded, and which was done at this time, was looked upon as the work of the chamber of justice. The great number of those officers, as well as their extreme licentiousness, are indubitable testimonies of the calamities that are introduced into a state, and the forerunners of its ruin.

In May the king and queen had the devotion to celebrate the jubilee at Orleans. I attended their majesties as far as half a league beyond Fontainebleau.

from whence they proceeded that evening to Puisieux. I took advantage of this little vacation, to visit the lands of Baugy, which had been just awarded to me by a decree, for the great sums which were due to me from these lands, and upon which I began to build immediately with the confiscated money I have lately mentioned. I was stopped within two leagues from the place where I intended to lie, by a courier from his majesty, who called out to me while I was yet a great way before him. He brought me a letter from the king which contained only these few words. "I gave you six days for your journey to Baugy, but I have received letters of great consequence from Buzenval, which I want to shew you; you will oblige me if you will come and lie to-night here at Puisieux, whither you need bring no necessaries. I have given orders for your lodging, and sent thither my hunting-bed, and have ordered Coquet to get your supper ready, and your breakfast in the morning, for I will detain you no longer. Adieu, my beloved friends."

I WISHED my wife, who accompanied me, a good night, and taking with me only two gentlemen, a page, and a valet de chambre, and one groom, I turned back to Puisieux, where I found the king, who was amusing himself with seeing the youth of his train wrestle and leap in the court-yard of the priory. As soon as he saw me, he called Pasquier, who had been sent to him by Villeroi with Buzenval's letters, which informed the king that prince Maurice had taken the field with his army, which he had increased with garrisons drawn out of their quarters, and escorted by two thousand waggons: that, with this army, he intended (as Buzenval had learned from the prince of Orange's officers, and from the prince himself) to cross Brabant, the county of Leige, Hainault, and Artois, to gain by it the rivers along the frontiers of France, from whence he expected

expected assistance, and bring the war to the neighbourhood of Gravelines, Berque-Saint-Vinox, Dunkirk, and Nieuport; that the archduke, greatly inferior to the prince of Orange, not having yet received the troops which he expected from Italy and Germany, beheld those preparations with astonishment; and durst not oppose his march, but that he contented himself with being near him, that he might oblige him to keep in a narrow compass, and that while he obstructed him he might be himself near the place where he perceived the storm would fall; that, finding this step, which had been communicated to him, of great importance, he thought it was necessary to inform the king of it.

THE knowledge I had of the Low Countries made this design of the prince of Orange appear to me so dangerous, that I thought it likely to draw upon him a total defeat. He would be obliged to march a great way within view of the enemy and upon their frontiers, through countries so full of woods, hedges, and hollow ways, particularly in Liégois, that I thought them impassable for such a number of waggons; and the king was of the same opinion. After we had conferred together a long time, he resolved to send prince Maurice his sentiments of it, and I resumed my rout to Baugy, in which I visited the lands of Sully, that I had a design of purchasing; and did so accordingly the following year. The king continued his pilgrimage to Orleans, and laid there the first stone for the rebuilding of the church of the Holy Cross: he afterwards returned to Paris, to which place I had come three days before his majesty.

HENRY's letters changed the design of Nassau; he besieged Rhimberg*, and took it on the tenth of June. The archduke Albert, in revenge, invested Ostend on † the fifth of July. Maurice, on his side, laid

* On the Rhine.

† It will be often mentioned; this siege, in which many brave actions

siege to Bolduc, either to force the archduke to abandon his enterprize, or to indemnify himself by the reduction of this place, which was looked upon to be the most important fortress in Brabant. I was still of opinion that he would do neither; and when the king sent for me to hear my sentiments of it in the presence of the courtiers who were by when the packet which brought the news was opened, and who all spoke differently of it, I said that, although I was very young when I had visited Bolduc, I had nevertheless preserved the remembrance of the place; and, that not to mention its situation, which rendered the siege of it a work of immense labour, it seemed to me impossible, considering the extent of the place and the great number of its citizens, to surround it in such a manner as to hinder any one from going in or out, at least without an army of twenty-five thousand men. In effect, the prince of Orange failed in his attempt upon Bolduc: but all this did not happen till November.

THE war breaking out so near our frontiers, made Henry resolve to go to Calais, as if he had no other design but to visit that country. Although he always suspected the Spaniards, he was not apprehensive, in the present state of the affairs of that crown, that they would be prevailed on to break the peace: but he was not displeased, at having an opportunity to give them a little uneasiness, in revenge for the daily occasions of discontent which he received from them. They acted, indeed, in a manner sufficient to have obliged his majesty to do something more, had not policy prevailed over resentment. After many fruitless attempts to break the alliance between the Swiss cantons and France, and to hinder the pope from acting as arbitrator in the dispute about the marquisate of Saluces, because his holi-

actions, were performed on both sides, having lasted above three years; but for a minute detail of them consult M. De Thou, Le Septennaire, and other historians.

ness.

ness could not dispense with himself for giving judgment against the duke of Savoy, they had sent troops to that prince in the last campaign, under the command of the count de Fuentes. Their continued intrigues with marechal Biron, Bouillon, D'Auvergne, the prince of Joinville, were publicly known. Biron himself had confessed it to his majesty; and lastly, the king, at his return from Orleans, received certain intelligence of their practices with the cities of Metz, Marseilles, and Bayonne.

At all this his majesty dissembled his displeasure; but nothing provoked him against that crown so much, as the outrage which La Rochepot*, our ambassador at Madrid, his nephew, and his whole train had received from that court. La Rochepot gave an account of it in his letters. "I swear by heaven," said Henry transported with rage, "that, if I can but once see my affairs in order, and get a sufficient supply of money, and whatever else is necessary, I will make so furious a war upon them, that they shall repent of having obliged me to take arms." However, he still shut his eyes upon so daring a violation of the rights of nations, but it was not without doing great violence to his inclinations. "I see plainly," said this prince to me sometimes, "that through emulation, jealousy, and interest of state, France and Spain can never be on friendly terms with each other, and that a proper security against that crown must have some other foundation than words." He was suffici-

* Antony de Selly, count de la Rochepot. His nephew happening to bathe himself with some French gentlemen, was insulted by some Spaniards, who flung his cloaths, and those of his companions into the river. These revenged themselves for the affront by killing and wounding some of the Spaniards; those that fled soon after returned to force open the ambassador's house, and thence dragged his nephew to prison, with others of his associates that had taken shelter there. This difference was compromised by the pope, who caused the prisoners to be sent to him to Rome, and delivered them to the count de Bethune, brother to M. de Sully, ambassador of France at that court. See the above mentioned historians for the year 1601.

ently convinced of the error in Villeroi and Silhery's policy, who often, in his presence, maintained against me, that a strict union with Spain was not only neither impossible nor dangerous for France, but likewise the most reasonable system of politics that ought to be embraced. To their arguments I opposed that competition so natural to these two crowns, the opposition of their interests, and the remembrance of so many recent injuries; and I concluded that, with a neighbour so artful and unjust, the necessary measures to be taken were to hold them always suspected, and to be always prepared for defence. The last news that came from Madrid gave me, for this time, the advantage over my opponents; at least in the king's opinion, who hesitated no longer about going to Ostend, after he had dismissed two celebrated embassies, which he received about this time.

ONE of these embassies was from the grand seignior, who, knowing that the sophy of Persia his enemy had sent a solemn deputation to the pope, the emperor, and the king of Spain, without taking any notice of the king of France, against whom he seemed to make an overture of his assistance at the same time that he asked for theirs; he was returning one act for another. His highness, on this occasion, made use of his physician, who* was a christian, and invested him with the dignity of his ambassador. The terms in which this haughty potentate expressed himself, with regard to the French †, discovered a distinction and respect, of which there are few ex-

* Bartholemew Cœur, a renegade of Marseilles. He demanded of the king that the duke of Mercœur should be recalled from Hungary, because, among the prophecies which the Turks believe, there is one, they say, that the French shall drive the Turks out of Europe.

† To the most glorious, most magnanimous, and most illustrious prince of the faith of Jesus . . . the composer of the differences that happen between christian potentates, prince of grandeur, majesty, and opulence, and the glorious leader of the greatest subjects, Henry the IVth emperor of France; such were the titles which his highness gave the king. MSS. de la Bibliothèque de Roi. vol. 959z.

amples; he set a higher value, he said, upon the friendship and arms of the French, than of all the other christian nations together; and that although they should all unite with Persia against him, he should think himself in a condition to dispise their attempts, as soon as he had secured the alliance and assistance of a king, whose superiority over all his neighbours, as well as his great personal qualities, he appeared not to be ignorant of. The Turkish ambassador presented his majesty with several rich presents, and gave me two scymetars of exquisite workmanship, which I keep with great care.

THE other ambassador was from the republic of Venice. This state had been a long time, by a particular alliance often renewed, and by their common interest, united with France against the Spanish power: it had been amongst the first in complimenting his most christian majesty upon his marriage and the peace, by the sieurs Gradenigo and Delfin, the last of whom was likewise in this embassy. Henry was desirous that these ambassadors should be received with the utmost distinction in Paris. He ordered them to be served with his own plate, and loaded them with presents of equal value with those he gave the first. The letters he then wrote to me turned almost wholly upon this head, for he was then at Fontainebleau with the queen, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, upon which account the king could not come immediately to Paris, and still less the queen who had so great a concern in this embassy. His majesty shewed so much respect for the Venetian ambassadors, as not to suffer them to wait for his return to Paris, but let them know that he would receive them at Fontainebleau, to which place his coaches and equipages attended them.

THE archdukes could not fail to suspect, that the king, by marching towards Calais, would endeavour to obstruct their designs upon Ostend, by way of reprisal for the ill treatment La Rochepot had received.

ceived. In order to discover the purport of this journey, they deputed to him the count of Solre in the quality of ambassador, under the pretence of making him the same compliments on the queen's pregnancy which he received from all parts; enjoining this ambassador to insinuate a complaint of his journey, by which Solre gave a fair opportunity to the king, who, instead of satisfying him as to the occasion of his complaints, made, in his return, very heavy ones against Spain, assuring him however; but in a general manner, that he would not be the first to come to a rupture, provided that the Spaniards did not force him to it by continuing their unfair proceedings. With this promise the ambassador pretended to be satisfied.

THE queen of England hearing the king was at Calais, thought it a favourable opportunity to satisfy her impatience of seeing and embracing her best friend. Henry was not less desirous of this interview, that he might confer with the queen upon the affairs of Europe in general, as well as on their own in particular, especially those which had been just hinted to him by the English and Dutch ambassadors when he was at Nantz. Elizabeth first wrote him a letter equally polite and full of offers of service; she afterwards made him the usual compliments, and repeated those assurances by the lord Edmund, whom she dispatched to Calais, till she herself could arrive at Dover, from whence she sent the lord Sidney with other letters.

HENRY resolving not to be outdone in complaisance, answered these advances in a manner that shewed at once his respect for the sex of Elizabeth; and his esteem and admiration of her character: This intercourse continued a long time, to the great mortification of the Spaniards, whose jealousy was strongly excited by proximity and close correspondence. Of all the letters wrote by these two sovereigns on this occasion, I am possessed only of that in which

Elizabeth.

Elizabeth informs the king of those obstacles that prevented her conferring with him in person, lamenting the unhappiness of princes, who, contrary to their inclinations, were slaves to forms and fettered by circumspection. This letter†, because it was the occasion of the voyage I made to this princess, I have kept in my hands; in it she tells her most dear and well beloved brother (for so she called the king of France) that her concern at not being able to see him was so much the greater, as she had something to communicate to him which she durst not confide to any other person or commit to paper, and yet that she was upon the point of returning to London.

THE king's curiosity was strongly excited by these last words; in vain did he torture his imagination to guess their purport. Secretary Feret being sent by him to fetch me, "I have just now received

† This letter, and this whole relation of the duke of Sully's concerning Henry the IVth's journey to Calais, and Elizabeth's to Dover, appear sufficient, without any other reflections, to shew the error of all those various judgments current at that time, and which have been mentioned by different historians concerning these two potentates. It was said Elizabeth proposed to Henry, either that he should come to Dover, or at least confer with her in a vessel half way between these two towns, and that this proposal concealed a snare in which Elizabeth hoped to entrap Henry by seizing upon his person in the interview, and keeping him prisoner till he restored Calais, and that Henry excused himself from complying with her request, only because he suspected the design; others say, because his fears of the sea were so great, that he durst not venture into a vessel. No one suspected the true motive for proposing this interview, which was the occasion of all these letters that passed between them, and caused the duke of Sully to make the secret voyage to Dover, of which he here gives an account. Siri, on this occasion, builds upon the resentment which he supposes Elizabeth always preserved, both of the peace of Vervins and the surrender of Calais, as well as her fear lest Henry should aggrandise himself too much, and on the jealousy which the English entertained of the French. Mem. Recond. vol. I. p. 130, 150, &c. But this writer, so well acquainted with foreign negotiations, especially those of Italy and Spain, is not right, neither in the facts nor the opinions which he produces concerning the interior of our court and councils under the reign of Henry the IVth. He knew neither this prince nor the duke of Sully.

“ letters,” said he to me, “ from my good sister the queen of England, whom you admire so greatly; they are fuller of civilities than ever: see if you will have more success than I have had in discovering her meaning.” I agreed with Henry that it must be something of great consequence which enduced her to express herself in this manner; it was resolved therefore, that I should embark the next day for Dover, as if with no other design than to take advantage of the shortness of the passage to make a tour to London, which would give me an opportunity of seeing what step the queen would take upon my arrival, neither the king nor I doubting but that she would be immediately informed of it. I acquainted no one with my intended passage, but such of my domestics as were to attend me, and of these I took but a very small number.

I EMBARKED early in the morning, and reached Dover about ten o'clock, where, among the crowd of those who embarked and disembarked, I was immediately discovered by the lord Sidney, who five or six days before had seen me at Calais: with him were Cobham, Raleigh, and Griffin, and they were soon after joined by the earls of Devonshire and Pembroke. Sidney embraced me, and asked me if I was come to see the queen; I told him I was not, and even assured him that the king knew nothing of my voyage: I likewise intreated him not to mention it to the queen, for not having had any intention of paying my respects to her, I had no letter to present, my design being only to make a short tour incognito to London. These gentlemen replied smiling, that I had taken an useless precaution, for that probably the guardship had already given a signal of my arrival, and that I might quickly expect to see a messenger from the queen, who would not suffer me to pass in this manner, having but three days ago spoke of me publicly and in very obliging terms. I affected to be extremely concerned at this unlucky accident,

accident, but to hope nevertheless, that I might still pass undiscovered, provided that these gentlemen would be secret as to the place where I was to lodge; from whence, I assured them, I would immediately depart as soon as I had taken a little refreshment: saying this I left them abruptly, and had but just entered my apartment, and spoke a few words to my people, when I felt somebody embrace me from behind, who told me, that he arrested me as a prisoner to the queen. This was the captain of her guards, whose embrace I returned, and replied smiling, that I should esteem such imprisonment a great honour.

His orders were to conduct me directly to the queen; I therefore followed him. "It is well, M. de Rosny," said this princess to me as soon as I appeared, "and do you break our fences thus, and pass on without coming to see me; I am greatly surprised at it, for I thought you bore me more affection than any of my servants, and I am persuaded that I have given you no cause to change those sentiments." I replied in few words, but such as so gracious a reception required. After which I began, without any disguise, to entertain her with those sentiments the king my master had for her. "To give you a proof," replied she, "that I believe all you have told me of the good-will of the king my brother, and of your own, I will discourse with you on the subject of the last letter I wrote to him; though perhaps you have seen it, for Stafford (that is the name of the lord Sidney) and Edmund tell me, that the king conceals few of his secrets from you." She then drew me aside, that she might speak to me with the greatest freedom, on the present state of affairs in Europe; and this she did with such strength and clearness, beginning from the treaty of Vervins, that I was convinced this great queen was truly worthy of that high reputation she had acquired in Europe. She entered into this detail, only to show me how necessary

sary it was that the king of France should, in concert with her, begin to execute those great designs which they both meditated against the house of Austria. The necessity of this she founded upon the accessions this house was daily seen to make: she repeated to me all that had passed on this subject in 1598, between the king and the English and Dutch ambassadors, and asked me if this prince did not still continue to have the same sentiments, and why he so long delayed to begin the enterprize.

To these questions of queen Elizabeth, I answered, That his most christian majesty still continued to think of that affair as he always had done: that the men and money he was raising, and the other warlike preparations he was making, were destined to no other purpose than the execution of the concerted plan; but that in France things were far from being in such a state, as to enable him to undertake the destruction of a power so solidly established as that of the Austrian princes. This I proved, by the extraordinary expences Henry had been at since the peace of Vervins, as well for the general necessities of his kingdom, as to restrain the attempts of the seditious, and to carry on the war which he had just ended with Savoy. I did not dissemble with this princess the opinion I had always entertained of this enterprize, which is, that though England and the United Provinces should use their utmost endeavours to reduce the house of Austria, unless they were assisted by all the forces of the French monarchy, and on whom, for many reasons, the chief weight of this war must fall, the house of Austria, by uniting the forces of its two branches, might, without any difficulty, not only support itself against them, but even render the ballance equal; it would therefore be useless, and even an imprudent attempt, to endeavour to sap the foundations of so formidable a power, by the same means only that serve merely to keep upon the defensive with

with it: and it would be indispensibly necessary to defer the attempt for some years, during which, France would acquire all she now wanted, to enable her to strike more effectually the blow that was preparing for the common enemy; and would, in conjunction with her allies, endeavour to engage the neighbouring princes and states in their designs, the princes of Germany especially, who were more immediately threatened by the tyranny of the house of Austria.

It was easy for the queen of England to comprehend, by the manner in which I expressed myself, that these were not so much my own as Henry's sentiments which I communicated to her, and she gave me to understand as much, by confession, that they appeared so just and reasonable to her, that she could not avoid adopting them: adding only, that there was one point on which all the parties could not be too soon agreed, which was, that the ultimate view of the intended combination being to confine the power of the house of Austria within just bounds, it would be necessary that each of the allies should so proportion all his desires or expectations which he might conceive in the consequence of the event, as that none of them might be capable of giving umbrage to the rest: supposing, for example, that Spain should be deprived of the Low Countries, neither the whole nor any part of this state was to be coveted, either by the king of France, or the king of Scotland, who would one day become so of Great Britain, nor yet by the kings of Sweden and Denmark, already sufficiently powerful by sea and land to make themselves respected by the other allies; and the same conduct ought to be observed with regard to all the other spoils that might be taken from the house of Austria by those princes whose dominions should happen to be nearest to the conquered countries; "For if my brother, the king of France, said she, should think of making him-
" self

“ self proprietor, or even only feudal lord of the
“ United Provinces, I should never consent to it,
“ but entertain a most violent jealousy of him; nor
“ should I blame him, if, giving him the same oc-
“ casion, he should have the same fears of me.”

THESE were not the only reflections made by the queen of England; she said many other things, which appeared to me so just and sensible, that I was filled with astonishment and admiration. It is not unusual to behold princes form great designs; their sphere of action so forcibly inclines them to this, that it is only necessary to warn them of the extreme, which is, the projecting what their powers are so little proportioned to perform, that they scarce ever find themselves able to execute the half of what they proposed; but to be able to distinguish and form only such as are reasonable; wisely to regulate the conduct of them; to foresee and guard against all obstacles in such a manner, that when they happen, nothing more will be necessary, than to apply the remedies prepared long before. This is what few princes are capable of. Ignorance, prosperity, luxury, vanity, nay, even fear and indolence, daily produce schemes, to execute which there is not the least possibility. Another cause of surprize to me was, that Elizabeth and Henry, having never conferred together on their political project, should agree so exactly in all their ideas, as not to differ even in the most minute particulars.

THE queen, observing my eyes were attentively fixed on her without speaking, imagined she had expressed herself so confusedly in something she had said, that I was unable to comprehend her meaning. But when I ingenuously confessed to her the true cause of my silence and surprize, she then, without scruple, entered into the most minute parts of the design: but as I shall have an ample occasion to treat of this, in relating the great schemes which were prevented by the untimely death of Henry IV. I shall not trouble

trouble the reader with useless repetitions; but in this place just shew the five principal points to which her majesty reduced so extensive a scheme, as from the sequel of these Memoirs this will appear to have been. The first was, to restore Germany to its antient liberty, in respect to the election of its emperors, and the nomination of a king of the Romans. The second, to render the United Provinces absolutely independent with Spain; and to form them into a republic, by annexing to them, if necessary, some provinces dismembered from Germany. The third, to do the same in regard to Switzerland, by incorporating with it some of the adjacent provinces, particularly Alsace and Franche-Comté. The fourth, to divide all Christendom into a certain number of powers, as equal as may be. The fifth, to reduce all the various religions in it under those three which would appear to be most numerous and considerable in Europe.

OUR conference was very long: I cannot bestow praises upon the queen of England that would be equal to the merit which I discovered in her in this short time, both as to the qualities of the heart and the understanding. I gave an exact relation of every thing that passed between us to the king, who very highly approved all she had said to me. Their majesties corresponded by letters, during the rest of the time they staid at Dover and Calais. All preliminaries were agreed on; measures were taken even on the grand object of the design, but with such secrecy, that the whole of this affair remained to the death of the king, and even much longer, among the number of those in which only various and uncertain conjectures are formed.

THE king did not return to Paris till he had carefully examined all the fortresses upon his frontier, and provided for their security: in every other respect, he appeared an indifferent spectator of the quarrel between the Spaniards and the Flemish: and all
he

he did in favour of Ostend, the siege of which was still continued, was not to hinder some French from engaging in the service of the prince of Orange, in which several of them lost their lives; amongst these, the death of young † Chatillon-Coligny, whose head was shot off by a cannon-ball before Ostend, deserved to be particularly lamented. The king, when he was told it, said publicly, that France had lost a man of great merit: myself, in particular, was sensibly afflicted at his death. Coligny, at an early age, had already united almost all the qualities that form a soldier; valour, moderation, prudence, judgment, and the art of making himself equally beloved by the soldier and officer.

BUT Coligny was a protestant; and the jealousy of the courtiers soon converted all these virtues into so many crimes, in the opinion of the king; they told his majesty, that Coligny already aspired to the distinction of being head of the protestants, both within and without the kingdom, to which he was solicited by the duke of Bouillon; that he desired nothing with so much ardour as to equal, or even to surpass, the actions of his father and grandfather; and had been heard to declare, that he should not regret the loss of life, if he had the satisfaction to lose it at the head of an army, fighting for the preservation of his friends. His affection for the soldiers was treated as an artful and dangerous artifice. They hinted to the king, that he had already raised a jealousy in the prince of Orange; and that his majesty would one day have reason to fear a shoot from a stock that had given so much trouble to our kings. Henry was so far influenced by the insinuations, that

† Henry de Coligny, lord of Chatillon, son to Francis, and grandson to the admiral de Coligny: he carried to the assistance of Ostend a regiment of 800 French. According to Brantome, the house of Chatillon Coligny came originally from Savoy, of a very noble and ancient lineage, as he says, and who were formerly sovereign princes, and very powerful. Tom. III. p. 273.

when

when I went to ask some favours of him for the mother and brother of Coligny, he dwelt continually upon what he had heard, and had given but too much credit to, and appeared to me not only full of indifference for the death of Coligny, but also so greatly prejudiced against the whole family, that I desisted from a solicitation which could not but be prejudicial to myself, my connexions and conformity of religion with the deceased considered.

THE king, at his return to Fontainebleau, had the pleasure to find the queen in as good a state of health as he left her. He was seldom from her during her pregnancy, and took all possible care of her health*. In a letter he wrote to me some days before the queen lay in, he says, "Bring no people of business with you at this time, no mention must be made of it during the first week of my wife's lying-in; we shall have sufficient employment to hinder her from getting cold."

At length, the moment that was to fill the king, the queen, and the whole kingdom with joy, arrived; the queen was, on the 17th of September †, delivered of a son, whose strong health, as well as the queen's, filled the kingdom with the most agreeable hopes. I believe I may venture to affirm, that

* "We read," says Bayle, in the *Rep. de Lett.* for January 1686, that Henry recommended to Louisa Bourgeois, a very skilful midwife, who laid the queen, to perform her office so carefully, as that there might be no occasion for employing a man-midwife. Since this, added he, would shock female modesty."

† On Thursday night about midnight.

‡ Peresfixe says, on the contrary, "That the labour was very difficult, and the child so much fatigued, that it was quite purple when it was born, which probably impaired its vital principles, and broke its constitution. The king, imploring the blessing of heaven upon the infant, gave him also his own benediction, and put his sword into his hand, praying God, that he would be pleased to give him grace to make use of it only for his glory, and the defence of his people." Matthieu speaks in the very same terms: "My dearest, says he to the queen, be of good cheer, for God has granted us what we wanted." This writer adds, that a shock of

this incident gave me more joy than any one else. I was attached to the king's person by the most tender ties of affection, an affection which I felt in a higher degree than the most faithful of his subjects, and was therefore more interested in his happiness. He was so well convinced of this truth, that he did me the honour to give me notice of the birth of his son in a billet, which, at ten o'clock at night, he sent from Fontainebleau to Paris, where I then was; it contained only these few words: "The queen
 "is just delivered of a son; I send you the news,
 "that you may rejoice with me." Besides this billet, which he wrote as to a friend, he sent me another the next morning by La-Varenne, as grand master of the ordnance; he there mentioned the birth of the Dauphin as an occasion of inexpressible delight to him; "Not so much," said he, for the
 "near concern I have in this incident, as for the
 "general good of my subjects." He ordered me to fire the cannon of the arsenal; which was performed in such a manner, that the report was heard even at Fontainebleau. On this occasion it was not necessary to order public rejoicings: all his majesty's subjects, from the first to the meanest, concurred in giving demonstrations of it, in which fear and policy had no part.

THE king's satisfaction was only interrupted by a slight indisposition, which he had drawn upon himself. La-Riviere* was his first physician, a man who had little more religion than those generally have that blend it with the profession of judicial astrology; yet the world did him the honour to suppose, that he concealed the principles of a protestant

an earthquake was felt two hours after midnight. Tom. II. liv. iii. p. 441.

† La-Riviere succeeded D'Aliboust in the place of first physician: he had been in the family of the duke of Bouillon, who resigned him to the king.

under

under the appearance of a catholic. Henry, who already felt a tenderness for his son, that filled him with an eager anxiety to know his fate, having heard that La-Riviere had often succeeded wonderfully in his predictions, commanded him to calculate the Dauphin's nativity with all the ceremonies of his art; and that the exact moment of his birth might be known, had carefully sought for the most excellent watch that could be procured. It appeared, that the king thought no more of this design till about a fortnight after, when he and I being alone together, the conversation turned upon the predictions of La-Brosse, which I have formerly mentioned, concerning his majesty and me, which we had found so exactly accomplished. Henry's inclination to make the experiment with his son receiving new strength by this discourse, he ordered La-Riviere to be sent for.

THE physician, without taking any notice of it, had proceeded in his work. "M. de La-Riviere," said the king to him, we have been talking of "astrology; what have you discovered concerning "my son?" "I had begun my calculations, replied La-Riviere, but I left them unfinished, not "caring any longer to amuse myself with a science "which I have always believed to be in some degree criminal." The king immediately discovered that this answer was not sincere, and that he concealed his thoughts, either through an apprehension of offending his majesty, or from an effect of ill-humour, whim, or the caution of an astrologer, who held it dangerous to disclose his secrets. "I "see plainly, said Henry, that you are not restrained by motives of conscience; you are not "of the number of persons that are so very scrupulous; but, in reality, you are afraid of not being "able to tell me truth, or of making me angry; "but whatever it be, I will know it, and I command you, on my displeasure, to speak freely."

La-Riviere suffered himself to be pressed still longer; and at last, with a discontented air, either real or dissembled, said, "Sire, your son will live out the common age of a man, and will reign longer than you; but his inclination and yours will be very different; he will be obstinate in his opinions, often governed by his own whims, and sometimes by those of others: it will be safer then to think than to speak: impending ruin threatens your former society: all the effects of your prudence will be destroyed: he will perform great things, will be fortunate in his designs, and make a great figure in Europe: in his time there will be a vicissitude of peace and war: he will have children: and after him things will grow worse. This is all you can know from me, and more than I had resolved to tell you." The king, after musing a little while on what he had heard, said to La-Riviere, "You mean the protestants, I know; but you speak thus because you are well inclined towards them." "I understand," said La-Riviere, "what you would have, but I shall say no more." His majesty and I continued together a long time in conversation, making reflections on every word that had been spoken by La-Riviere, which remained strongly on the king's mind.

It was not possible for me to stay long at Fontainebleau; but the king continued to give me, with great kindness, an account of every thing that happened. "You cannot imagine," says he in one of his letters, "how well my wife is recovered of her lying-in; she dresses her head herself, and talks already of getting up." In another, nine days after her delivery, he says, "The queen goes already into her closet; she has a constitution surprising-ly strong: my son likewise is very well, I thank God: these are the best news I can send a faithful and an affectionate servant, whom I tender-ly

“ly love †.” Henry sent his son to Saint-Germain to be nursed, on account of the goodness of the air : and by one of those little strokes of popularity which shew the heart better than more ostentatious actions, he would have him shewn to all Paris ; for which purpose, he was carried openly through the midst of that great city. The Parisians, by repeated acclamations, expressed their pleasure at this sight.

THE king had made a promise to the queen, that if she brought him a son, he would present her with the castle of Monceaux. “My wife,” said he, in a letter to me, “has gained Monceaux, by giving me a son ; therefore I desire you will send for the president Forget, to confer with him about this affair, and take his advice concerning the security that must be given to my children, for the sum which I pay for Monceaux.” The city of Paris having likewise promised the queen a present of a suit of tapestry hangings for her lying-in, his majesty, in this letter, reminded me to demand it : an infant † was born in Spain, about the same time that Providence gave a prince to France.

THE negotiation, so many years depending with the grand duke of Florence, was concluded this year : that the reader may understand the occasion of it, it is necessary he should know, that, under the reign of Henry the third, Ferdinand de Medicis, grand duke of Florence, took advantage of the troubles that then raged in France, to possess himself of the little isles of Pomègue, Ratoneau, and If, with its castle in the neighbourhood of Marseilles. Henry, fully resolved to make the grand duke restore them, ordered d’Ossat, who was then on the other side of the Alps, to demand them, in the year 1598. The

† The original of this letter of Henry IV. to M. de Sully is still extant ; it is dated from Fontainebleau, the 27th of August. Cabinet de M. le duc de Sully.

† Anna Maria Mauriette, afterwards queen of France, born the 22d of September.

grand duke not daring to refuse them absolutely, represented only; that he had expended great sums of money upon these isles, which he could not resolve to lose: d'Ossat of himself removed this obstacle, by engaging that the king his master should indemnify him for these expences, by paying him three hundred thousand crowns, for which twelve of the richest and most considerable persons in France should be security †, as if his majesty alone had not been sufficient to answer for so small a sum. The king, without greatly attending to this condition, ratified the treaty; and a short time after the chevalier Vinta was sent by the duke of Florence to conclude, with Gondy, the business of the isles upon this plan.

THE two agents did not go out of the council to seek for their securities, and the affair was proposed to me among the rest: this method of proceeding with a king, whose power no part of Europe was ignorant of, appeared to me so uncommon, that I could not help laughing at those who mentioned it to me. Villeroi took pains to represent to me the necessity of disengaging d'Ossat from his word: I replied, that there never had been any bankers in my family; for indeed, this was rather the business of bankers than of gentlemen. None of the others, said Villeroi, have made any difficulty about it. I believe it, answered I with some indignation, for

† This is, in effect, the import of the fifth article of the treaty that passed on the 1st of May, 1598, between the king of France and the grand duke of Tuscany, by the intervention of cardinal d'Ossat, which may be seen at full length at the end of the collection of this cardinal's letters. The duke of Sully does not here reproach M. d'Ossat with any thing which he had not already excused in the letter which he wrote to his majesty, on the 5th of May 1598, immediately after the conclusion of this treaty, and likewise in that to M. de Villeroi, of the 4th of August following. He afterwards cleared himself more fully, in a long memorial, which is also inserted at the end of this collection. However, we cannot think the reasons which M. de Sully produces against this convention groundless, nor believe that the duke of Florence would have broke the treaty without that condition, they

they are all either descended from traders or lawyers. Hereupon there arose a dispute in the council, which was reported to the king, who only smiled, and said they had done wrong to mention it to me without first informing him, since he had not acquainted me with it himself. "I am astonished," added he, "that he did not give a still ruder answer: you cannot be ignorant of his temper, and how highly he values himself upon the nobility of his birth: let this affair be concluded without his or any other persons entering into any obligation: I gave no permission to the bishop of Rennes to agree to such an expedient." The grand duke did not allow himself to be solicited upon this head; he set the king free from the obligation of the twelve securities, out of regard to his person. The act for it was passed on the fourth of August 1598, but the affair was on neither side concluded till the chevalier Vinta arrived in 1601.

I was likewise employed to settle certain estates in Piedmont, for which the count of Soissons was desirous of treating with his majesty: they came to him by the death of the princess of Conti, in right of his wife, who was of the house of Montaffié †. My report was not very favourable for the count: I represented to the king, that these estates, which had been too highly valued, were likewise subject to so much litigation, and were so disadvantageously situated, that these considerations ought greatly to lessen the price. The count of Soissons thought proper to dissemble the resentment he entertained against me for this declaration.

FRESNE-CANAYE ‡ was appointed ambassador to

† The prince of Conti was first married to Jane de Coëme, lady Bonnetable, and widow of Lewis count de Montaffié in Piedmont: and the count de Soissons had married Anne de Montaffié, daughter to that Lewis by the said Jane de Coëme.

‡ Philip Canaye de Fresne: Philip de Bethune, count de Solles and de Charost.

Venice, and Bethune my brother to Rome, to the great mortification of the other ministers, especially Villeroi and Sillery, with whom I had often disputes, which the king had many times endeavoured to prevent. These two gentlemen had undertaken to exclude me from any concern in foreign affairs, the cognizance of which they pretended belonged only to them. The nomination to embassies falling under this head, they told his majesty, in my presence, that, for the embassy to Rome, they had abler persons to propose to him than Bethune, who, they said, had no knowledge of the affairs of that court, and had yet performed no considerable service to the state. My brother had, however, already been charged with the embassy to Scotland, of which he had acquitted himself well; and it could not be denied that he was circumspect, wise, and honest; qualities which, in my opinion, are not among the least that are essential to an ambassador. What these gentlemen said, therefore, was as false as it was contemptuous; and this I made them sensible of in my answer, by shewing them the value of those services which the state received from the military art, and which those gentlemen seemed to place below all others.

VILLEROI, piqued in his turn that I had not given the first rank to his, maintained his cause with great heat and animosity. His majesty found himself obliged to command us to be silent, telling us, that he was offended at our holding such discourse in his presence; and that, without entering into a discussion of our services, we ought to be satisfied that he was pleased with them. I asked the king's pardon for daring, after this prohibition, to add a few words to close the mouths of persons who so unjustly placed the lazy business of the law, and the quiet employments of the cabinet, above the toils, the dangers, and expence of the military professions; and I truly spoke my sentiments of such partiality. "Well, well," said Henry, interrupting me, "I
" pardon

“ pardon you all, and take your words, as I must,
 “ but upon condition that, for the future, you
 “ will avoid these little debates; and that when
 “ one of you recommends his friend to my favour,
 “ the others do not oppose it, but submit to my
 “ choice: at present I determine in favour of the
 “ sieur de Bethune, whose family, wisdom, probity,
 “ and even capacity, I esteem, having employed
 “ him in many affairs both of peace and war, which
 “ he has acquitted himself of worthily.” The king
 promised Villeroi that, after my brother’s return, he
 would dispose of the embassy to Rome according to
 his recommendation. He then put an end to his
 walk, which this quarrel had protracted to more than
 two hours, and went to dinner. I went several
 times this year to Fontainebleau, to receive his ma-
 jesty’s orders concerning affairs that could no other-
 wise be communicated to him, and, being often, and
 for a considerable time at a distance from each other,
 I received, as usual, a great number of letters from
 this prince: that in which he mentions the marechal
 d’Ornano †, who had given him some causes of com-
 plaint, has something singular in it. “ I never, says
 “ Henry, saw so much obstinacy and ignorance to-
 “ gether in one man, but I pronounced him dange-
 “ rous; he has reached the summit of insolence.
 “ Take care that he gives me no occasion to be con-
 “ vinced what he is, that is, unworthy of the ho-
 “ nours that I have bestowed upon him: his fideli-
 “ ty only could deserve them; his many acts of dis-
 “ obedience will soon take away all claim to that
 “ character: to say the truth, I am quite tired of
 “ him.” The states of Languedoc meeting this
 year, the king wrote to me, that he must transfer the
 place of their sitting to the Lower Languedoc,
 “ that my servants, said he, may not go first to those
 “ of the league.” In another letter, he ordered me

† Alphonso d’Ornano, son to San-Pietro de Bastlica, a colonel of the Swiss.

to send for some foals of his breed of horses † at Meun; and in another, to give two hundred crowns to Garnier his preacher in Advent and Lent; the rest, which contain only a detail of slight circumstances, I suppress, although they are proofs of the extreme vigilance and attention of this prince to matters of the smallest consequence.

I SHALL comprise, in one article, with which the memoirs of this year will be concluded, all that relates to marechal Biron, of whose revolt there was at length the most convincing proofs. After the king had been at Lyons, and had there entertained very strong suspicions against this marechal, his majesty had a private conversation with him in the con-

† “From his early years,” says Brantome, speaking of Henry II. in his *Vies de hommes illustres*, tom. II. p. 42, “he was always very fond of the exercise of riding, and kept always a great number of horses in his grand stables of Tournelles, which were the principal; as also at Muns, at St. Leger, and at Oyron, under the inspection of M. de Boissy, master of the horse, the most valuable part of which was his breeding mares, wherein he took great delight.” He adds, that this prince having one day shewn his stables to the emperor’s master of the horse, the latter told him, that his master had not near so fine a set of horses, extolling them very highly, especially as the greatest part were of his own breeding. The troubles, during the last reigns, were the cause that the king’s breeding stables had then fallen into decay, and were in a worse condition than they were under Henry II. That of Meun, or Mehun, in Berry, was the only place of those before mentioned, where horses were bred for the king’s use; and these stables were very inconsiderable, as may be seen from the archives of the secretary of the king’s household, which are kept at Petitsperes in Paris, where Meun is called Main, apparently to distinguish it from another Meun upon the Indre, that is also in Berry.

In 1604, the duke de Bellegarde, master of the horse, caused Mark Antony de Bazy, captain of the breeding stables, to remove the king’s set of mares to St. Leger, a forest belonging to the crown. In 1618, some considerable additions and improvements were made: and greater still about 1665, when the late M. Colbert, minister of state, enlarged the bounds, made parks therein, and got together a great number of stoned horses and young colts, by means of Alain de Garfaut, who was then captain. It continued in this state till 1715, at which time it began to be settled in Normandy, under the direction of Francis Gideon de Garfaut, Lewis de Lorraine, count d’Armagnac being then master of the horse in France: since this last establishment, it has every day more the appearance of the stables of the most powerful prince in Europe.

vent of the Cordeliers, and appeared so well informed of all his transactions with the duke of Savoy, that Biron, either because he then thought that, after such a discovery, all he could now do was to repair his fault, or that he sought only to deceive the king, confessed to him, that he had not been able to resist the offers made to him by the duke of Savoy, joined to his promise of giving him the princess † his daughter to wife. He asked the king's pardon for these proceedings, and protested to him, with the utmost appearance of sincerity, that he would never again suffer himself to be intoxicated with such expectations.

HENRY thought he might depend upon a promise, which was nevertheless forgot in the instant that it was made. Biron resumed his first designs; went, according to his custom, at different times into the provinces, caressed all the malecontents he found amongst the gentry, entertained them continually with the injustice he received from the king, and his credit and the correspondence he carried on without the kingdom. He entered into stronger engagements than ever with Bouillon, d'Entraques, d'Auvergne, and others ‡. He, who was pride and fierceness itself, laid such a restraint upon his inclinations, as to appear to the soldiers the most humane and affable

† The marechal de Biron, by marrying the duke of Savoy's third daughter, was to have received from the king of Spain, and that duke, the seigniory and investiture of Burgundy, Franche-Comté, and the county de Charolois: this was one part of the grand project of both these courts, which consisted in dismembering, in this manner, the kingdom of France, and parcelling it out among the governors of its provinces. The proof of this may be seen in Vittorio Siri, *Mem. rec.* vol. I. p. 103. 127, who likewise extols the services which the count de Bethune, our author's brother, performed on this occasion, to Henry IV. during his embassy at Rome.

‡ The author says nothing, in all this account, of the conspiracy of the marechal Biron, his imprisonment, and the process against him, but what is confirmed by the histories and memoirs of that time: they mention these extravagant words of his: "The king does not at all hurt me, for I know how to be revenged on crowned heads, and even emperors." Matthieu, tom. II. liv. ii. p. 333.

man in the world, and drew the affections of the mob by playing the hypocrite and the devotee; for what appearance will not ambition assume to attain its end? Hitherto, however, it might still have been doubted, whether he had not concealed his designs within his own breast, and if this conduct was not an effect of that disposition which is observable in many persons, who, by their discourse, appear restless, disturbed, and fond of novelties, yet are far from any intention of throwing themselves headlong into rebellion.

HENCE arose Henry's suspense concerning the conduct of marechal Biron, though he still continued to have him carefully observed, and could not help being moved at the accounts that were brought him, of his conduct in the last journey he had taken to Dijon, where he had passed the end of the preceding year and the beginning of this. Biron, who on his side had his spies at court, being apprehensive of the impression which his behaviour made on the king, thought proper to write to me on that subject. His letter is dated the third of January; it turned only upon the ill offices that were done him with the king, and the injustice even his majesty did him in believing him capable of designs he had never entertained. He excused his journey to Burgundy, on account of some domestic affairs which made it absolutely necessary; and assured me, that he should leave that province in two days: he concluded with entreating me to believe all that would be told me from him by Prevot, one of his agents, whom he had sent to me. This letter was too soon followed by incontestable proofs of his treachery, to make it be thought sincere; and I was so far from believing his professions in it, that they only increased my suspicions.

DURING the king's stay at Calais, he received still clearer and more circumstantial informations against Biron, doubtless because this marechal, believing him-

himself less suspected than before, took greater liberties than usual: but Henry, instead of taking those measures that in prudence ought to have been no longer delayed, could not yet look upon this man as incurable; and resolved, if possible, to bring him back to his duty, by gentleness, kindness, and such distinctions as make the strongest impressions upon the heart of an honest man. Biron having demanded a gratuity of thirty thousand crowns from his majesty, the king thought it very reasonable, and granted it immediately; and because that no obstacles should retard the payment of it, this prince ordered me to take proper measures to satisfy Biron without delay; accordingly I paid him instantly one half of the sum in ready money, and assigned him the other half at the expiration of a year.

Biron thought there was a necessity for coming to thank me for this favour: he told me, that he was more obliged to me for it than the king, complaining to me that he had been forgotten and even despised by this prince, now that he had no longer occasion for his sword, this sword, said he, that has placed him upon the throne. It was impossible for me to keep silence upon this occasion: I represented to the marshal, with a kind of reproach, that he accused Henry so much the more unjustly, as this prince, to whom alone he was obliged for this gratuity, had not disdained to solicit himself for its payment: hence I took occasion to speak with still greater freedom to Biron; I remonstrated to him that, altho' he should even have proofs of his neglect, he ought always to remember that he spoke of his master, and of a master who, by his personal qualities, still more than by his rank, engaged the esteem and respect of his subjects. I told him, that there was nothing which kings were more sensible of than disrespect to their persons, an envious desire to lessen the glory of their arms, and ingratitude for their benefits. These terms were sufficiently plain, yet I went farther, and if I did not tell Biron positively that I thought

thought him both ungrateful and a traitor, there was nothing to hinder him from concluding it by all my discourse. I exhorted him to encourage a nobler emulation in his soul, which might give him a title to real praises; I dwelt upon the difference there was between making one's self beloved by one's prince and country, and endeavouring to become the object of its fear: a detestable attempt; and almost always fatal to those that make it. I told him, that if he would join with me in mutual labours for the glory of the state and the public good, we might, in some degree, make both depend upon us; he by his abilities for war, I by the share I had in the government at home; and hence we should taste the refined pleasure of knowing ourselves to be either the authors or instruments of every public benefit. I finished my remonstrance, by endeavouring to prevail upon him to go and return his majesty thanks for the gratuity he had just received.

To all this Biron, neither moved to gratitude by kindness, nor to repentance by conviction, answered only by exaggerating his own merit so unseasonably, and in such boastful terms, that I was now convinced of a thing that I had hitherto only suspected, which was, that the harshness of his manners and the inequality of his humour proceeded from a slight taint of madness, for which so much the less allowance was to be made, as that, hindering him from reasoning, it could not hinder him from speaking and acting ill: what appeared to me a complete proof of it was, that, after what I had just said to him, having reason to look upon me as a man in whose presence he could not be too cautious, he was imprudent enough to let something escape him concerning the designs that filled his head. I took no notice of it; but he perceived the error he had been guilty of himself, and to repair it pretended to acquiesce with my reasons, and to approve of my sentiments: from that moment;

ment, I so absolutely despaired of ever being able to recal this man to his duty, that I thought mine obliged me to disguise from the king nothing which I believed him capable of doing.

It was always a part of Henry's character, to be with difficulty persuaded of the treachery of any person about him: he answered, that he knew Biron perfectly well; that he was very capable of saying all that was related; but that this man, who, in consequence of his natural violence of temper, the effect of melancholy, was never contented, and exalted himself above every one else, was nevertheless, a moment after, the first to mount his horse, and dare all dangers for those whom he had railed at so much before; therefore he well deserved some indulgence for a little intemperance of tongue: that he was assured Biron would never be induced to rebel against him; that if this should happen, as he had already given a proof on those occasions where he had saved the life of this marechal, and in the last place at Fontaine-Françoise, that he did not yield to him in courage, he knew likewise how to shew him that he did not fear him. The king therefore made no alteration in his behaviour to Biron, except that he gave him still greater demonstrations of kindness, and loaded him with new honours, which he looked upon as the only remedy for his defection.

He was sent ambassador to queen Elizabeth, with whom he had a very extraordinary conversation*. He was imprudent enough not only to mention the earl of Essex to this princess, whom she had lately beheaded, but likewise to bewail the fate of that nobleman, whose great services had not been able to preserve him from so tragical an end; and Elizabeth had the complaisance, in answer to this impertinent discourse, to justify her conduct with

* A particular account of this embassy may be seen in Matthieu, tom. II. l. 2. p. 426, & seq.

regard to the earl, by shewing the necessity she was under to punish him: she told him, that Essex had madly engaged in schemes which greatly exceeded his abilities; and that after many proofs, and a full conviction of his rebellion, he might have still by submission obtained her pardon; but that neither his friends nor his relations could prevail upon him to ask it. I know not whether the queen of England perceived any marks of resemblance between the French ambassador and the English favourite; but the reasonable observations on the nature of royal heads, and the duty of subjects, with which she concluded her discourse, seemed to insinuate as much; but Biron drew no advantage from it.

AT his return from London, the king appointed him likewise ambassador extraordinary to Switzerland, to renew the treaty of alliance between France and the Cantons; still continuing to believe, that an employment which would take off his thoughts from arms, and engage him in a commerce with a body so wise and politic as the Helvetic Senate is, would subdue at length all inclinations to sedition: but ambition, envy, and avarice, are passions that can never be wholly quelled; and had the heart of Biron been thoroughly sounded, it might probably have been found tainted with all the three. No sooner was he returned from his second embassy, than, as if he had endeavoured to make amends for the time he had lost, he laboured more assiduously than before to bring all his chimerical schemes to perfection; either persuaded thereto by the duke of Bouillon and the count of Auvergne, who had likewise formed their party, or having drawn them into his.

To strengthen their mutual engagements, these three gentlemen signed a form of association, of which each kept an original: in this uncommon piece, which was produced in the process against marechal Biron, they reciprocally promised, upon the faith and word of gentlemen and men of honour, to continue

tinue united for their common safety *to and against all, without any exception* (these terms deserve a particular observation) to keep inviolably secret whatever might be revealed to any one of them; and to burn this writing, in case any accident should happen to either of the associates. There was no prospect of succeeding in their designs, but through the operation of Spain and Savoy; they therefore renewed their correspondence with these two powers, and on the other side, to second their endeavours, went about picking up all the disaffected persons they could find amongst the gentry and soldiers. To draw into rebellion many of the towns at the greatest distance from Paris, particularly those in the provinces of Guienne and Poictou, they took advantage of the sedition occasioned by the establishment of the penny in the livre, which I had opposed so ardently in the assembly *des Notables*, and which I had not afterwards the power to suppress; however, it could not possibly be raised according to the original plan; it had been changed into a subsidy of eight hundred thousand franks, of which one half was sunk in the taille, and the other in the customs.

BIRON and his associates, to increase the discontent of these people, already strongly incited by that impost, persuaded them, that to complete their calamities, they would shortly be burthened with a duty upon salt; and many persons were kept in their pay in each of these provinces, to terrify the inhabitants with perpetual alarms. What government can expect to be free from these disturbers of public tranquility, if that of Henry the Great, so wise, mild, and popular, was not? This evil, however, took its rise from the unhappy influence the civil wars had on the manners of the people; that was the poison which produced those turbulent spirits to whom quiet was painful, and the happiest condition, a languid inactivity: hence arises that restless ambition, which keeps their reason enslaved, makes them

them murmur at heaven, and quarrel with mankind for torments they bring on themselves; and raises their malice against princes, whose whole power, so obnoxious to them, is not sufficient to gratify their inordinate desires.

HENRY's eyes were at length opened with regard to the real character of Biron, which he had hitherto flattered himself he knew so well, and he began to fear he should be obliged to have recourse to the most violent remedy to stop the contagion: informations multiplied every day, and came from persons that could not be suspected; all agreed in the chief point of the conspiracy; some mentioned the act of association, and, having seen it, related the very terms in which it was conceived. Calvairac * gave the king the most circumstantial and most probable account that had been yet transmitted to him; besides the public rumour, he informed him, that Biron and his colleagues had received several thousand pistoles from persons who came from Spain; that they expected sums still greater, and a supply of forces; that the council of Madrid had agreed to it, on condition that the rebels should begin by seizing some strong maritime places, on the frontiers of Spain; that, conformably to this plan, enterprizes were already formed upon Blaye, Bayonne, Narbonne, Marseilles, and Toulon; and that the count of Auvergne was to wait only till these were executed, to begin openly his attempt upon Saint-Flour †.

ALL these informations made it absolutely necessary to examine the matter thoroughly. The king came on purpose to the arsenal, where he found me busy in completing the labour I had begun, to communicate to me what he had learned, and gave me the detail, leaning upon the balcony over the great walk: he went afterwards to Fontainebleau, whither

* John de Sudrie, baron de Calvairac.

† In Upper Auvergne.

I followed him; and it was in this place that we were to proceed to the last extremities with marechal Biron. He had for a long time made use of La-Fin * to carry on his foreign negotiations, a lively, cunning, intriguing fellow, whom Bouillon and he often called their kinsman. La-Fin had been sent several times to the king of Spain, the duke of Savoy, and the count of Fuentes; but afterwards, upon some disgust Biron had given him, he retired to his house, where he remained unemployed. It was not thought impossible to gain him; and for this purpose his nephew, the vidame of Chartres†, was made use of, who endeavoured to prevail upon his uncle to come to Fontainebleau. In the mean time I returned to Paris, to make preparations for a journey his majesty thought it necessary to take immediately into all those places through which Biron had passed, namely, Poictou, Guienne, Limosin, and especially about Blois.

LA-FIN having at length resolved to come to Fontainebleau, revealed all that he knew concerning Biron's conspiracy. The king was desirous that he should be detained and lodged at Mi-Voie, that he might be seen by none but those who were sent to confer with him. His majesty judging by what he had first declared, that my presence would be necessary, wrote these few words to me: "My friend, come to me immediately, on an affair that con-

* James de La-Fin, a gentleman of Burgundy, of the house of Beauvois-la-Noche; "the most dangerous man, says Perefex; and "the greatest traitor in France: the king knew him well, and often said to the marechal, Don't suffer that man to come near you; "he's a rogue, he'll be the death of you. He endeavoured to accuse the marechal de Biron, from a jealousy he entertained, that "the baron de Lux had supplanted him in the marechal's favour; "and in revenge to the count de Fuentes, upon the discovery of his attempting to betray the latter, for that he had caused his secretary "to be arrested: yet that he might the better destroy the marechal de Biron, he pretended still to have the same attachment to him as "before."

† Pregent de La Fin, vidame de Chartres.

cerns my service, your honour, and our mutual satisfaction. Adieu, my dear friend." I took post immediately, and on my arrival at Fontainebleau, I met his majesty in the midst of the large avenue to the castle, ready to go to hunt. I threw myself at his feet: "My friend," said this prince to me, pressing me in his arms, "all is discovered; the chief negotiator is come to ask pardon, and to make a full confession: in his accusation he includes a great number of persons of high rank, some of whom have particular reasons to love me; but he is a great liar, and I am determined to believe nothing he says without good proofs: he accuses one man, among the rest, whom you little think of; come, guess who this traitor is." "That is not in my power, sire," I replied. After pressing me some time longer, but to no purpose, "You know him well," said he, "it is M. de Rosny." "If the others are no more guilty than I am, replied I smiling, your majesty need not give yourself much trouble about them." "I believe so," said the king; and to shew you that I do, I have ordered Bellievre and Villeroy to bring you all the accusations against you and the others; I have even told La-Fin, that I would have him see you, and speak to you freely: he is concealed at M. Voie, and will meet you on the road from Moret; appoint the hour and place, and none shall be present at your conference."

I COULD not imagine how my name happened to be found in this wicked cabal; whether it came from some of Biron's people, who supposed me to be

* We may, doubtless, rank among the number of these, the charge which La-Fin brought against Biron, of his having attempted the king's life, and the Dauphin's, according to Chron. Septennaire, since his friends made use of the proofs they had of the contrary, to obtain his pardon: "Sire, we have at least this advantage," said M. de La-Forée to Henry IV. throwing himself at his feet, "that there is nothing proved as to his having made any attempt on your majesty's person," Vol. 92d of the MSS. in the king's library.

a friend of their master, or from Biron himself and his associates, who thought it was lawful for them to make use of it to the Spanish ministers, to swell the number of their partisans; or of the malecontents of the kingdom: it was impossible, that two letters I wrote to the marechal, through zeal rather than complaisance, might have involved me in the number of these conspirators; and the rather because, in allusion to the conversation that passed between Biron and me, which I have formerly mentioned, I told him plainly, that there was nothing to hinder him from making himself useful and dear to the kingdom, by those measures I had marked out to him: I likewise told him, that although I was almost always about the king's person, yet I had never heard him express any resentment against him: and I advised Biron not to assert such a thing publicly, because the world would not fail to believe, and report, that he only feigned to have received some disgust from his majesty, because his own conscience reproached him with having deserved it. Thus what I said with an intention to bring Biron back to his duty, was interpreted to my disadvantage.

HENRY'S opinion, as he has since told me, was, that this accusation of me did not take its rise either from Biron or any of his associates, but from La Fin alone, at the instigation of some persons, who hoped by that means to accomplish my disgrace: however that may be, it made so little impression on the king's mind, that his majesty, who had lately given me the government of the Bastile, and intended that the patent for it should not appear in my name, but only in that of La Chevalerie, altered his opinion on this occasion, and caused it to be expedited under mine, knowing none, he said, but me, by whom he could expect to be served with fidelity, in case he should have birds in the cage. Accordingly, Villeroi was ordered to bring me the patent a few

few days after, which was the beginning of the following year.

I HAD a long conversation with La-Fin \S alone, in the forest; after which, Bellieyre, Villeroi, and myself, examined, with great care, all the papers that contained any proofs against the duke of Bouillon, marechal Biron, and the count of Auvergne; such as letters, memorandums, and other writings of the same kind. The names of many persons besides these three gentlemen were mentioned in them; but as it was probably with as little justice as my own, which was there likewise, I shall not, on so slight a foundation, give them a place in these Memoirs, which, to distrustful persons, might make them still more liable to suspicion than the depositions of La-Fin. After this examination we returned to his majesty, and a council being held, the result of it was, to keep every thing secret, that Biron might not be warned of the measures that were to be taken to bring him to court, that he might be arrested with the greater security. It was likewise resolved, that his majesty should set out immediately on the journey before mentioned. We shall see in the following year what these measures produced.

IT is necessary to take some notice of what happened this year in several states of Europe: the court of London was thrown into confusion by a rebellion that was stirred up by the Spaniards in Ireland; Elizabeth sent to besiege Kinsale, the strongest place that the rebels were in possession of: the earl of Tyrone, their leader, and Don Alonzo del Campo, who commanded the Spanish troops in Ireland, hastened to relieve it with all the forces they could get together, which were cut in pieces by the lord Piercy. Alonzo remained prisoner there, and Kinsale surrendered.

VERY different reports were raised concerning the destination of the fleet which was fitted out about

\S Matthieu, vol. II. book iii. p. 482.

this time by the king of Spain, but nothing could be certainly known about it; for after it had rode some time in the Mediterranean, it was attacked by a tempest, and was obliged to re-enter the port of Barcelona, which it did in a very shattered condition: the command of this fleet had been given to prince Doria. Probably it was designed against Portugal, where the true or the false Don Sebastian * still continued to have a great number of partisans. Some secrets which he revealed, that it seemed could have been only known to the king of Portugal; certain natural marks upon his body which he shewed, and some other circumstances of the same kind, confirmed his assertion. However, to confess the truth, none of these proofs appeared unanswerable; nevertheless, the king of Spain thought it the wisest way to rid himself privately of this pretended prince: so that the truth was never known, or at least to a few persons only, whose interest it was not to publish it.

A DIET was convened at Ratibon, with intention to make some composition between the popish and protestant religions, but this came to nothing: upon the first question proposed, which was concerning the authority of the holy scriptures †, such heat was

* There is something surely very surprising and uncommon in this perfect resemblance of all the parts, features, and even the defects of the body, which, according to all the historians, was between the real Don Sebastian and this man, who is said to have been a native of Calabria; and it is no less difficult to guess, how he could come to the knowledge of the circumstances of the king of Portugal's life, which were so peculiar and secret, as to astonish all the world. The Portuguese, still more deceived through their natural affection for the blood of their kings, as also through their hatred for Spain (this last motive might likewise be applied to M. de Sully) than from any evidence they had, persisted in supporting the claims of this impostor. The Septennaire is very favourable to him, an. 1601, p. 217. See what has been said a little higher. The Spaniards were so thoroughly convinced of their having discovered the cheat, when Ferdinand, grand duke of Tuscany, had delivered him up into the hands of the Viceroy of Naples, that they no longer scrupled to expose him as a public gazing-stock, mounted on an ass; after which they sent him to the galleys. See Matthieu, tom. II. l. iii. p. 451.

† This question was publicly debated, during several sittings, between

raised among the disputants, that an accommodation became impracticable. The papists maintained, that their authority was derived wholly from the consent of the church, that they might add the prerogative of infallibility, to the other rights with which they had so liberally, and with so little reason, invested the Pope : the protestants treated this doctrine with contempt and ridicule †.

THE war in Transylvania still continued disadvantageous to the vaivodes, Batory and Michael, who had revolted from the emperor; they were defeated by George Basse, and Clausembourg was taken. The duke of Mercœur signalized himself no less at the head of the Imperial troops against the Turks ‖; he took Albe-Royale in Hungary, a fortress esteemed impregnable; and afterwards drove away the Turks from it, who had returned to besiege it. The archduke, Ferdinand of Austria, less fortunate than Mercœur, was beaten before Canise §; and the Knights of Malta took and destroyed the city of Passava in the Morea.

CONSTANTINOPLE and the palace of the Grand Signor was in no less commotion, through the discontent of the Janizaries, who proceeded so far as to strangle, in the presence of Mahomet III. himself, seven of the favourites of his seraglio, and threatened to depose him: he was a man, indeed, whose vices

tween the catholic divines of Maximilian duke of Bavaria, and the protestant divines of Ludovic count palatine of Neubourg, and of the electors of Saxony and Brandenburg; the two first of these princes assisted at it in person, and were obliged to put an end to this dispute, the advantage in which, each of the parties, as is always the case, afterwards ascribed to themselves. De Thou, Chron. Septen. for the year 1601.

† This, however, will always be, in the opinion of unprejudiced persons, one among the false doctrines of Calvin, the most untenable, namely, that scripture is the best interpreter of scripture; or, what is far worse, that its sense may be determined by private persons. This is the chief source of that monstrous confusion of sects, with which the pretended reformation was immediately over-run.

‖ The duke of Mercœur, by his great exploits, acquired the reputation of one of the first warriors of his time. See them, as also the other facts that are here spoken of, in the historians.

§ By the christians called Chateaucneuf.

rendered him unworthy of a throne; he was cruel, treacherous, slothful, avaritious, and sunk in every kind of voluptuousness.



B O O K XIII.

AGITATED as the minds of the people were by all those domestic insurrections we have seen in the preceding book, yet it did not hinder them from resigning themselves, this winter, to their accustomed pleasures and shews. By the queen's order, and for her amusement, a magnificent interlude was composed: the arsenal was the place the king chose for the representation of these shews, on account of the conveniency its spacious apartments afforded both for the actors and spectators. At the time that this interlude was to be played, the wound I had received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres happening to open again, I was not in a condition to give the necessary orders at the arsenal, and they had already pitched upon another place for its representation; but the king chose rather to wait till I was cured, which retarded it eight days.

TOWARDS the middle of Lent, the count of Schomberg, grand marechal of the empire, and envoy from the court of Vienna, arrived at Paris, into which he made his entry with a train of forty or fifty horse: the king ordered the same honours to be paid him that the marechal de † Bois-Dauphin had received at Vienna. The prince, son to the marquis of Brandenburg, staid likewise some time at Paris. It was not usual to defray the expences of persons of his rank, especially, as it was observed by his majesty, if they did not follow the court: but the king was resolved to shew a particular respect to a prince,

† Urban de Laval, marquis de Sablé, who died in 1629.

whose family, one of the most illustrious in Germany, had always professed a remarkable attachment for France; and I was ordered to send him every day, in his majesty's name, presents of the richest wines, and provisions for his table.

WHEN every thing was ready for the king's departure, and that his majesty, in the several journeys he had made to Paris, had given all the necessary orders for securing peace and tranquility in that city, and in the provinces he was going to remove from, as well as those through which he was to pass, he left Paris on the twentieth of May, and came to Fontainebleau, from whence he took the road to Blois. The queen and all her household accompanied his majesty in this journey; I likewise attended him, but did not set out till a few days after: the king sent me notice of his arrival at Blois, and his intention of staying there eight or ten days. This delay was no more than necessary for a regimen that was prescribed him by his physicians, to cure a defluxion of humours which had fallen on one of his legs, and for the time it lasted, as Henry wrote to me, might well be called the gout. Blois likewise was the most proper city he could chuse to discover the secret practices of marechal Biron: Henry had many persons in this province in whom he could confide, who applied themselves solely to the making those discoveries, and almost every hour sent couriers to him with the intelligence they had procured; by them the king was informed that Biron's cabal extended to Anjou, the higher Poitou, Xaintonge, Mirebalais, Châtelleraudois, Angoumois, Perigord, Limosin, Marche, and Auvergne, and even took in the higher Guyenne, and Languedoc; that it was supported by four or five noblemen of the court, whose names were not expressed, for fear of advancing any thing that was yet doubtful: the connexions with Spain, the schemes for surprising the frontier cities, and the arguments they made use of to disgust
the

the people with the present government (the same which I have already mentioned) made up part of these advices, to which the following new informations were added.

THE seditious, to prepossess the people with unfavourable thoughts of his majesty's journey to Blois, which was doubtless a source of uneasy apprehensions to them, gave out every where that Henry had only undertaken it with a design to chastise severely those that had resisted Jambeville, d'Amours, and the other commissaries that had been sent to exact the penny in the livre, upon the rivers and other places of passage, and to settle it himself in such a manner, that, by a new regulation of the rates, it should produce thrice as much, and to force the duty on salt to be every where received by taking possession of the salt-pits, for which the proprietors were to have no other recompence than some rents ill paid from the town-house of Paris; and lastly, to stop the murmurs which it was expected the exacting of two tenths would raise (which, they made them believe, Henry had obtained the pope's permission to levy) and the revocation of the draw-backs granted on the taxes of 1594, 1595, and 1596, which I have already mentioned in the account of my journey into the several districts.

THUS was this good prince represented throughout his whole kingdom as a furious and implacable tyrant. They were never without one set of arguments to engage the catholic nobility in a rebellion against him, and another to sow sedition amongst the protestant officers and gentry: to the first they represented, that this treasure and this formidable artillery, which the king was providing, were to be employed in depriving them totally of their privileges, and reducing them to a state of slavery; they persuaded the second, that the persecution against them was already begun, that the payment of their garrisons, the funds for the preservation of their

cities, the pensions of their leaders, their officers, and ministers, would be lessened this year by one third, and the next by two, after which there would be so much the less difficulty in depriving them of all their fortresses, as it was a point already agreed upon by the council, to exclude the protestants from all public offices and employments, by refusing to expedite the patents for them.

If the proofs against the persons of the conspirators had been as clear as those of their plots, the king might have that instant given free course to his justice; but, with regard to the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille, for example, there was as yet less certainty of their guilt, than of marechal Biron and the count of Auvergne's; for at the most there were only suspicions, though those indeed were very strong, against them: the other lords of the court, whose names, to the number of eight, were found in the list, might be well ranged under a third class of persons, whose doubtful conduct required some explanation. The dukes of Bouillon and Epemon attended the king in his journey to Blois, and his majesty was of opinion he might be able to draw from themselves a proof of their real sentiments, by attentively observing the air and turn of their countenance, during the recital he made them of the news he received: he began first with d'Epemon. A just regard to truth has so often reduced me to the necessity of speaking disadvantageously of this nobleman, that it is with a real satisfaction I seize this opportunity of shewing his innocence, and giving him the praise he deserves.

D'EPERON hearing whispers about the court of intrigues and cabals, easily apprehended that, as it is usual to judge of the present by the past, his name would not fail to be mentioned amongst those that were called enemies to the state; for which reason he took the precaution to renew to his majesty at Fontainebleau his assurance of fidelity: these assurances

ances were all the proofs he had to offer, and unfortunately Henry, who had been long prejudiced against him, did not give much credit to them. Notwithstanding this step, he still continued to suspect him, and because d'Épernon in speaking to him had referred to me, the king wrote to me at Paris an account of what had passed between him and the duke, letting me know at the same time, that d'Épernon seemed to have an intention to make up matters with me, and he ordered me to make the first advances to him, to the end that, if the crime with which he was charged should appear to be yet only intentional, his majesty might not have any cause to reproach himself with having suffered the duke to rush into actual treason, when there needed only good advice and kind treatment to prevent him.

I OBEYED the king's orders, and from that moment became convinced of the duke of Épernon's innocence: he said the same to the king at Blois as he had done to me, and did not deny his having heard of some commotions and secret intrigues, but said that these were always so general, and sometimes so full of contradiction, that he could not imagine that any credit was to be given to them; that those who were said to be the authors or favourers of these plots having never given him the least intimation of them, he had treated as a fiction, a project which appeared to him wholly extravagant, the present situation of affairs rendering the execution of it absolutely impossible; but whether real or not, he offered the king to continue about his person, as a security for his own fidelity, during six months; and if that time was not sufficient, he swore to him that he would not quit him till his suspicions were entirely erased. The king could have no objection to so reasonable a proposition, and began, as well as I, to believe that the duke of Épernon was guiltless.

THE duke of Bouillon discovered far less sincerity: on the first mention his majesty made of the plot to

him, he treated it as a calumny invented by spies and informers, against the nobility of the kingdom, to exaggerate their own services, and appear at least to gain the money that was given them to exercise this employment : to this reproach, which tacitly attacked his majesty, he added an application of a passage in the New Testament, " It is impossible but " that offences will come, but woe unto him thro' " whom they come," a passage, which, if taken in its true sense, might have been with more justice applied to Bouillon and his adherents. Bouillon did not stop here ; he added, that it was true he was told, that the catholics, as well as the protestants, complained of their being oppressed with imposts, and that in proportion as the king's riches and happiness increased, they became poor and miserable ; that, besides these general complaints, he had, in a certain place, heard protestants say, that sooner or later it would be their destiny to be looked upon as the plague and nuisance of the state ; that both they and their children would be hated, persecuted, and proscribed ; that they would be excluded from all honours and employments, and that the kingdom would never be quiet till they were totally extirpated : he added, that the more credit was given to these reports, because that persons of the greatest abilities in the kingdom, not being admitted to the council, nor consulted on affairs relating either to the difference of religions, or to the new imposts that were established, they could not inform the people of the true motive of those resolutions that were taken there, nor could the people attribute them to any thing but a design to enslave them.

It was sufficiently plain that the duke of Bouillon, by talking in this manner, sought to insinuate to the king, that all these reports of a rebellion had no other foundation than the cries of the people oppressed with a multitude of taxes ; and that this seeming discontent was put on to conceal from his majesty his real senti-

sentiments : but the insolence and the severity of his expressions shewed plainly enough that he could not resist this opportunity of discharging some part of his malice ; he even added, with the same subtilty and with equal chagrin, that they had endeavoured to persuade himself, that his majesty intended to abolish the privileges of the viscounty of Turenne, and to purchase the rights and claims of the house of Mark upon Sedan ; but to this, as well as to every thing else, he had only replied, that he was persuaded the king would never act in such a manner, on account of the services he had at all times received from the protestant body ; he finished by protesting to his majesty, that, although all that had been told him concerning the seditious and traiterous attempts in the kingdom should be as true as he believed them false, yet it should never lessen his duty and fidelity.

THE king, dissembling to the duke of Bouillon the opinion he conceived of him from this discourse, made him a proposal of the same nature with that which the duke of Epemon had of himself so frankly made, and which he expected would throw him into great confusion : he told the duke, that he was satisfied with this assurance, and that he would no longer preserve any remainder of distrust of him, provided he would give the same satisfaction that Epemon had offered, which was not to remove from the court while this affair continued in agitation, and that he might depend upon it he would not keep him about his person without communicating to him all his designs, and calling him to his councils, as he seemed to desire, that he might be himself a witness of his solicitude to relieve the people, and be able to give both protestants and catholics an incontestable proof of the purity of his intentions. Bouillon preserved an uncommon presence of mind under this blow ; he broke out into an exclamation of joy and surprise at the sentiments his majesty discovered for

him; and as to the proposal he made him, he told him that he would go and put himself into a condition to satisfy it, not for six months only, but for his whole life, if necessary, by taking a journey throughout all his estates, that nothing might afterwards interrupt the long stay he intended to make at court. In this manner, by appearing to do all that his majesty required, he reserved, nevertheless, the power of doing only what he pleased himself, and of making a plausible excuse for the sudden departure he was meditating.

HENRY, comprehending his design, resolved to call a secret council to deliberate upon the measures that were necessary to be taken in this conjuncture. The count of Soissons, the chancellor, Villeroi, Maillé, and myself, were all that were present at this council: all other affairs were postponed till † Descures was heard, who had been sent by his majesty to invite marechal Biron to court, and whose report was such that it was unanimously resolved to arrest this marechal and the count of Auvergne, as soon as they arrived. The king afterwards demanded if it would not be proper to do the like by the dukes of Bouillon and Epernon, before they left the court. Almost all the counsellors were of this opinion, and the most distinguished amongst them qualified it no otherwise, than by saying that Biron was the only one to whom mercy might be afterwards extended, because that acting nothing by himself he would be easily reduced to reason, when he was separated from those who hurried him on to his ruin. I took particular notice of this advice upon account of its singularity: mine, however, was directly opposite: I could not approve of the arresting of Epernon, or even of Bouillon: if in such cases suspicions were to serve for proofs, it was likewise necessary, I said, to arrest all whom La-Fin had accused, and myself the first; that, in case they should afterwards be found innocent,

† Peter Fougeu, lord of Descures,

they would, by this precipitate action, lose an opportunity of seizing Biron and Auvergne, whose treasons were manifest, since it would be impossible to arrest them all at the same time, and their flight would put it out of our power to prove any thing against the prisoners. The arresting of Bouillon and Epemon, I added, would have this farther ill consequence, that, whether guilty or innocent, his majesty could not dispense with himself from treating them as traitors, through a just fear of what their resentment only of such public outrage might induce them to act against him. The king yielded to this advice, and the council broke up, it being already dinner time. His majesty, being desirous of conferring with me alone upon what had been debated in the council, bid me snatch a soldier's dinner, and come back to him before the court filled again.

WHEN I went down into the hall, where I was waited for by a croud of people who attach themselves to men in power, I saw the duke of Epemon advancing to meet me, who, with the same air of conscious innocence which I had before observed in him, told me, that such long and secret councils alarmed a great many persons, but he was not of the number, because he had nothing to reproach himself with. I replied, that he had then nothing to fear, the king being more disposed to pardon the guilty, who confessed their crimes, than to punish the innocent on suspicions only. "I perceive," added I, "many people who are leaving the court, but those whose consciences are clear need not have recourse to that expedient." "I am one of these," added Epemon, "and I am resolved not to leave the court while these discontents continue." "You cannot do better, monseigneur," replied I; "and I promise you, that, on this occasion, you shall not lose the merit of having taken so good a resolution."

WHEN I came home, I ordered my maitre d'hotel

not to furnish my table as usual, but to serve me up any thing that was ready. Nicolas * came in just as I was sitting down to table: "Come wash immediately," said I, without telling him of the orders I had just given; "and take your place." He was greatly astonished to hear me, after I had drank two glasses, and eaten a hasty morsel, ask for the fruit; and, at the same time order my horse to be got ready: he who loved good cheer as well as mirth, was not pleased at this order. "Pardieu, monsieur," said he, "I am not surprised that you pass for one of the wisest noblemen in France; I don't know any one who can drink three glasses during the whole time you are at dinner." "Well, well, monsieur Nicolas," replied I, "do you make an end of your dinner, as for me I have business that calls me elsewhere."

I RELATED to his majesty what d'Epéron had said to me a little time before. The king agreed with me that d'Epéron had no inducement to engage in an affair that was carried on by persons, whose religion and disposition were different from his, by which likewise, while he had no advantages to hope for, he ran the hazard of being stripped of his estates and employments. D'Epéron had judgment enough to know that the scheme of these rebels was likely to be a fatal one. "Not," said the king, "that probably in his heart he is not glad of these disorders, that he may become more necessary to me; but he knows by experience such designs are often blasted." His majesty charged me to make another effort to prevail upon the dukes of Bouillon and Tremouille to stay at court, but to

* Simon Nicolas was the king's secretary, "a poet, a facetious man and an old offender, says the Journal of Henry the IVth. believing in God only for interest, and, for this reason, he became the more acceptable to company, according to the corrupt manners of those wretched times. He died two years after, in the 70th year of his age, in his last illness expressing himself with infamous impiety."

wait till he went to Poitiers, because he might then receive intelligence that would determine him. I used my utmost endeavours for this purpose, in the presence of messieurs de La Nouë, de Constant, d'Aubigne, and de Preaux, but all were ineffectual.

DURING their majesty's stay at Blois, an affair of a very different nature was in agitation at court, which I am under some perplexity in relating, for it made too much noise to be passed over in silence; yet I am not at liberty to enter into an explanation of it here, lest I should betray the secret confided to me only by the king and queen, whom it personally concerned; the medium therefore which I shall observe, is to recount only so much of it as got air, and came to the knowledge of the courtiers.

It was reported that the king and queen had some difference together, which was confirmed by the king's sending Armagnac * for me so early in the morning, that he was still in bed, as well as the queen, and contrary to their usual custom, each in their several apartments. It was observed that I had been several times backwards and forwards between them, and I had been seen kneeling three or four times before the king and queen, as if I was endeavouring to obtain some great favour of them. As nothing in such cases escapes the inquisitive courtiers, each formed particular conjectures upon these circumstances, as also that with the names of the king and queen, they heard those of the duke and duchess of Florence and Mantua, Virgil, Urfin, Don John, Bellegarde, Trainel, Vinti, Joannini, Conchini, Leonora, Gondy, Catherine Selvage, and the marchioness of Verneuil; other persons, they said, were hinted at, under the covert name of the colour of tan. They endeavoured to discover something by my wife, having learned that Conchini, who had often business with her, and who publicly paid her

* Fifth gentleman of the bed-chamber to the king.

the same respect as a servant to his mistress, and often addressed her by that title, had been several times sent by the queen to bring her, and that she passed many whole afternoons shut up with her majesty in her closet, when she was alone, or when only Leonora was with her.

BUT that which afforded most matter for discourse, was that, at the time when these disputes ran highest, La Varenne came one morning to acquaint to me, that the king waited for me in the new gallery which he had lately caused to be built at Blois, over those that were the length of the garden below : it is that in which there is the odd representation of a hind with a stag's horns. It was observed, that his majesty ordered two Swiss, who understood not a word of French, to be placed centinels at the end of this gallery which was not yet closed up ; and that, during two hours and more which we continued together, we seemed to talk with great earnestness and action. They might, notwithstanding the distance, hear some of our words, from which they could draw no lights ; but it was not the same with those which his majesty spoke when he went out ; these they understood and carefully remembered. " No more need," he said of it. I will regulate my whole conduct by your advice, said the king, that I may be no longer reproached with obstinately following my own will ; but remember, that we may probably both repent it one day, for you cannot but be affected with any misfortunes that happen to me. I know the disposition of those persons who foment our differences, they will be the cause of great uneasiness to the state : gentleness and indulgence are laudable qualities, I confess ; but you cannot deny also, that their extremes are dangerous." It was not difficult for them likewise to distinguish the latter part of my reply to the king : " It was indeed, a part of prudence, I told him,

“ him, to foresee and to prevent bad accidents, but
 “ it was equally necessary to avoid hastening them
 “ by useless precautions.” On this they founded
 their suspicion, that the king had a design to proceed
 to some violent measures against certain persons of
 the queen’s † household, and who were most in her
 confidence.

FROM Blois the king came to Poitiers ; he afterwards shewed himself in the Limosin and Guienne : his presence produced every where so good an effect, that he found no opposition to his will, not even to the establishment of the penny in the livre † : he might have afterwards continued this impost, and the collecting of it would have met with no difficulty ; but, satisfied with the submission of his people, he took that opportunity to change it into a small subsidy, and afterwards to suppress it entirely. The edict of revocation expressed, that his majesty was wholly induced to it by the obedience of his subjects. Henry, pleased with the success of his journey §, returned again to Fontainebleau, whither he was soon followed by marechal Biron.

THE consternation his party was thrown into by

† This is speaking very plainly ; and as the other Memoirs of that time all agree with this notion, it can scarce be doubted, that Henry had not only taken a resolution to clear the court of these informers, who exasperated the queen’s mind against him, but likewise to make this princess sensible of her indiscretion, by forbearing to see her, and obliging her to live at a distance from him in one of his palaces, and perhaps by sending her back to Florence. We may see, in the History of the Mother and Son, tom. I. p. 9. that this prince had threatened her both with the one and the other. It is probable that M. de Rosny thought this last course rather too violent, as, in fact, it was, all circumstances considered.

† La Septennaire says, that M. de Rosny was sent for this purpose by his majesty to Rochelle ; and that he was commissioned by the Rochellers to make remonstrances to the king, for suppressing the pancarte or tariff of this impost.

§ During this journey to Poitiers, says La Septennaire, which lasted near two months, the court seemed melancholy, the king pensive ; no councils, no judicial proceedings were held, except at Blois : all which was owing to the public and private disquiets of Henry, of which mention has already been made,

the

the king's journey, convinced him that his affairs were not so far advanced as he had been willing to believe; this made him take a resolution to go to court, which several other motives contributed to confirm. His treaty with Spain and Savoy was not yet upon such a footing, as could give him hopes of having an immediate supply of what troops and money he had occasion for. Too glaring an opposition of the king's will might raise suspicions of his treasonable practices, which hitherto he imagined had escaped notice; nor was it unlikely, as the baron de Lux, his friend and confidant, represented to him, that the king, upon his repeated refusals to appear before him, would march directly to him with an army, as to a declared rebel; which would be a fatal stroke to the marechal, who was neither in a condition to defend himself, nor to retire into any of his fortresses, which were unprovided with ammunition of every kind, particularly of artillery.

I HAD prepared Biron for this stroke, by the precautions I took some months before: I represented to him, that it was necessary all the pieces of cannon in the fortified places in Burgundy should be cast over again, and the powder new beat. The attention with which I applied myself to all the duties of my employment, as grand master, was alone sufficient to have made this proposal pass unsuspected; but that I might not give the least umbrage by it to the marechal, I was the first to offer him to supply the deficiencies, by furnishing him with plenty of every thing that was necessary from the arsenal of Lyons, which I had lately filled with great care. I consented that Biron should dispatch some of his soldiers to Lyons, to escort the boats that were to be loaded with the pieces of cannon I was to send him, and that he should receive them before he sent away those he already had. He was ignorant that I had taken such measures every where, that the boats from Lyons which went by the Saone very slowly,
were

were stopped by the way, till those that came from Burgundy had got beyond the places under his jurisdiction; and when both were in my power, my boats proceeded no farther.

BIRON did not perceive the artifice I had made use of till it was out of his power to prevent it: he discovered so violent a rage against me, and boasted so publicly that he would poignard me, that the king wrote to me never to go out without a good guard. I had likewise, as if without design, posted the light horse upon the passage of the Loins. But all this, which Biron probably believed to be done only to mortify him, could not open his eyes: De Lux and he drew no other inference from the impossibility they were now under of defending themselves, but that it was necessary they should receive the king, till by foreign assistance they had provided for their security. Descures and Jeannin acted in such a manner with them, as to encrease this confidence; and La-Fin had not only given Biron * the strongest assurance that he had not betrayed him, but likewise, that he had sought for an interview with the king with no other view than to sound him, and that he had found him very far from guessing the truth. This he again confirmed to him at Fontainebleau, where, as he passed him, he said these words; "Courage, my master, and speak boldly." The council had likewise so carefully kept the secret, that the court was wholly unacquainted with what was designed against Biron; d'Epèrnon hearing of his arrival at Fontainebleau, sent him such offers of service as are usual amongst persons of high rank; in which, after

* The marechal de Biron imagined that he had seen the treaty that was made with Spain flung into the fire; but La-Fin deceived him, by burning, instead of it, a piece of waste-paper.

§ The duke d'Epèrnon did not deny, that upon this occasion he had performed all the offices of a friend to marechal de Biron: "When he conversed with him upon this affair, says the historian of his life, he did not do it in ambiguous terms, as others did, but with great openness and sincerity: He acquainted him with La-Fin's treachery, and shewed him all the proofs of it, and exhorted him

what had passed at Blois, he was guilty of great imprudence, as he has since confessed himself.

I HAD taken a tour to Moret when Biron arrived at court; the king sent me notice of it in the following billet: "My friend, our man is come: he affects great modesty and reserve; haste hither speedily, that you may advise us what is to be done: Adieu, my dear friend." I returned immediately, and found the king walking before the pavillion where I was lodged, with Praslin†, whom he left to come to me. He took my hand, and continuing his

him to throw himself upon the king's mercy. This clears the duke d'Epemon. Du Plessis-Baufonniers, a gentleman of honour, and very much attached to the duke. (it is the same whom he sent to meet the marshal) was the person employed to use all sorts of arguments to prevail with him to ask the king's pardon: hence this gentleman, assured of his own and his patron's innocence, could never be induced to retire into a foreign country, after that the king, who was not ignorant of this step, had caused the marshal de Biron to be arrested; in which he did the duke d'Epemon a considerable service. And he afterwards gave him a second piece of advice, which proved very successful, and that was, to confess freely to his majesty all his proceedings with the marshal Biron, with what views and intentions he had treated with him." The same historian, in this account, throws in some hints, which discover the very bottom of the duke d'Epemon's sentiments, and which at the same time serve to shew his character: "The duke d'Epemon, says he, and Biron, having gone together to the Louvre to pay their compliments after dinner, his majesty being told beforehand of their coming, placed himself at a window, to observe, through the glass, their motions and countenance. A friend of the duke d'Epemon, who was about the king, gave him notice of this, that he might regulate his behaviour accordingly. But he acted quite contrary to what he was advised; and being more and more confirmed in the testimony he received from his conscience of his innocence, and filled with a just and high indignation to see his fidelity suspected, he walked on with an upright countenance, and his eyes directed towards the window where he knew the king leaned. This his majesty took particular notice of, and made those about him do so too. The king afterwards made a match at tennis, in which the count de Soissons, with the king, played against the duke d'Epemon and the marshal." It is at this match that the historians of that time make the duke utter a good saying, telling the marshal, "that he played well, but chose his side badly." *Hist. de la vie du duc d'Epemon. an. 1602. p. 205.*

† Charles de Choiseul, marquis de Praslin, captain of the first company of guards, died a marshal of France in the year 1626.

walk,

walk, told me, that he had in vain endeavoured, by every method he could think of, to extort from Biron † a confession of his crime, although he was so little capable of concealing his thoughts, that he read them plainly in his countenance. His majesty afterwards laid open to me his most secret sentiments with regard to the marechal; he still felt for him all his former tenderness, and beheld him not with resentment, but compassion: ardently he wished, that I would suggest to him the means by which, without incurring any danger, he might avoid treating him as a state criminal: but this was not easy to be done, considering the disposition Biron was known to be of; if it was dangerous to suffer him to escape, when he shewed no signs of repentance, it was no less so to release him upon his word, after letting him know that he had proofs of his treason.

THE king once more resumed a resolution suggested to him by the natural sweetness of his temper, which was, to endeavour to restore the marechal to a right way of thinking; but as he had not been able to succeed in this attempt himself, he ordered me to undertake it, and promised me to avow all I should say to Biron to engage his submission, provided that

† The king, wearied out with his obstinacy, suddenly left him, saying, as he went away, "Well, I must learn the truth elsewhere: "Adieu, baron de Biron." These words were like lightning before a clap of thunder, that struck him to the ground: the king thereby degrading him from those many high dignities to which he had advanced him. The same day, after supper, the count de Soissons also exhorted him, in the king's name, to own truth to him; and concluded his remonstrance with this sentence of the wise man, "The anger of kings is the forerunner of death." *Peref. ibid.* After dinner, says le Septennaire, he came to wait on the king, who was walking in his grand hall, where his majesty, shewing him his statue in relievo triumphing over the vanquished, says to him, "Well count, if the king of Spain had seen me thus, what would he say?" To which he lightly made answer, "Sir, he would fear you- but a little." All the lords that were present took notice of this presumptuous answer, and the king looking sternly at him, Biron, who observed it, explained his meaning, by adding, "I mean, Sir, that statue, but not this person,

I gave him no hint of what La-Fin had said, to prevent the design of arresting him, to which he must have recourse if the marechal persisted in his obstinacy. "If he opens himself freely to you, said the king, upon the confidence you must endeavour to inspire him with of my favourable intentions: towards him, assure him, that he may come to me without fear, and confess all; and if he disguises no part of the truth, I promise you, upon my royal word, I will pardon him cheerfully."

I WENT to the castle to see the marechal, who was in his majesty's chamber, talking to La-Curée at the head of the bed. I had a sufficient number of attendants with me: and the marechal, seeing his people make way at my approach, advanced to salute me, but did it very coldly. I thought I ought to begin, by endeavouring to soften the resentment I knew he entertained against me: "How is this! monsieur, said I, embracing him, you salute me with the gravity of a senator, contrary to your usual custom; you must not be thus reserved, embrace me a second time, and let us talk freely." When we were seated, and out of the hearing of any person in the room, "Well, monsieur," said I, in an obliging tone, "what a strange man are you! have you yet paid your respects to the king? how were you received by him? what has he said to you? you know his disposition is frank and open, he likes others to be sincere with him; I am told you behaved in a very reserved manner to him, which was far from being seasonable; nor did it suit with either his temper or yours: I am your kinsman, your friend, and your servant, take my counsel, and you will find it will be useful to you; tell me freely what you have upon your heart, and depend upon it I will procure you satisfaction; be not apprehensive that I will deceive you." To all this Biron contented himself with
reply-

replying in a cold and indifferent manner, "I have waited on the king with all the reverence and respect that I owe him; I have answered all his questions, which were only on general matters; nor had I any thing more to say to him." Ah! monsieur, replied I, it is not thus that you ought to act with the king: you know the goodness of his heart, open yours to him, and declare freely to him, or to me, if you had rather it should be so, all your grievances; and I promise that, before night you shall be satisfied with each other." I have nothing more to say either to the king or to you than what I have already said, returned the marechal; but, if his majesty entertains any suspicion of me, or thinks I have given him any cause of complaint against me, let him or you acquaint me with the occasion of these suspicions and disgusts, and I will give you satisfaction." The king," said I, in my eagerness to save him, is offended at your coldness; for as to other particulars, added I immediately, he is quite ignorant; but let your conscience be your judge, and act in the same manner as if you knew we were informed of your most secret actions, nay even your words and thoughts; for I protest to you, upon my honour, this is the most certain way to obtain whatever you can desire from the king. The method I recommend to you I always follow myself: if it ever happens that I commit any little fault, I acknowledge and exaggerate it to the king, who then grants me all I wish: if you will believe me and take my counsel, dear marechal, pursued I, you and I shall govern the court, and be at the head of affairs." "I am willing to believe you," replied Biron with the same coldness, but I have nothing to accuse myself of; I feel my conscience perfectly at ease, since the confession I made the king at Lyons." Although I had probably said but too much already, yet I could

not

not hinder myself from making him still several other instances, which he received no better, and soon after withdrew to his own lodgings.

THE king entering that moment, I repeated to him all that I had said to Biron, and his answers. "You have gone rather too far, said this prince to me, and have said enough to create some suspicion in him, and even to induce him to fly. Go into that gallery," added his majesty, after reflecting some moments upon the blindness and obstinacy with which the marechal hurried on to his ruin, "and wait for me there; I would talk to my wife and you alone." Accordingly he returned a short time afterwards with the queen, and shutting the door of the gallery, he told us, that the double obligation he was under, as a king and father, to watch over the safety and happiness of the state, leaving him no other part to take but that of arresting marechal Biron and the count d'Auvergne, all that now remained was to consider how to do it securely †. His majesty was of opinion, that we should wait till the marechal and the count were retired each to his respective lodging, and that then soldiers should be sent to invest them. I proposed that they should be

† It would not have been done, if the marechal de Biron had taken advantage of the notice that was given him. A certain person put a letter into his hand, as he was going to wait on the king after supper, in the name of the countess de Rouffy his sister; and, as he inquired what news, upon finding that the bearer made no answer, he doubted something else was the matter; and, after opening the letter, he found notice given him that, if he did not make his retreat in two hours, he would be arrested, and directly showed it to one of his friends called De Carbonnieres, who said to him, Then, adieu, sir, I wish I had a poignard in my breast, provided you were now safe in Burgundy. To this he made answer, Suppose I were there, and that I were to have four in mine, upon receiving the king's orders, I would immediately come hither. Notwithstanding this, he went into the king's chamber, where he played at primero with the queen, and in the midst of his game, the sieur de Mergé, a gentleman of Burgundy, was observed to whisper somewhat in his ear, which the marechal not regarding, the count d'Auvergne came also, and twice touched him on the side, telling him, it is not safe for us to be here. Sept. *ibid.*

in the king's closet till the night was far advanced; and that, after the greater part of the courtiers, weary of waiting for his majesty's retiring, should be withdrawn, they should then be seized as they went out of the king's apartment. "I do not see how
" this can be done, replied Henry, without having
" my chamber and closet filled with blood; for
" they will not fail to draw their swords, and defend themselves. If this should happen, I had rather it were in their apartment than mine." I thought it of most consequence, upon this occasion, to avoid, as much as possible, all noise and confusion; but the king continuing firm in his first proposal, took leave of me, bidding me go home to supper, "and at nine o'clock, said he, let your horses
" be prepared, and you and all your people be boot-
" ed, ready to mount and set out when I send for
" you."

I WITHDREW to my pavillion, where, after giving orders conformable to those I had received from his majesty, I went into my closet, from whence I could see all that passed about Biron's apartment, which was in the pavillion opposite to mine. I read and walked about alternately, without neglecting to observe what was doing on that side where I expected soon to see the attack begun, and to receive new orders from the king. The clock struck nine, ten, and eleven, yet nothing was done; at length midnight came, yet all was quiet: I am afraid, said I, returning into my chamber, where all my domestics waited for the scene that was preparing, some at play, some in conversation, and others asleep, I am afraid, said I, that they have not taken their measures right, and have suffered the birds, which with so little difficulty thy might have taken, to escape, and which will not be easily entrapped again. I then ordered them to saddle my horses, and pack up my baggage, while I went into my closet, and wrote a few words.

I CONTINUED there half an hour, after which I heard a noise at the door of my pavillion next the garden, and a voice that cried, "Monsieur, the king sends for you." I looked out at the window, and knew the messenger to be La Varenne, who went on saying, "Monsieur, come immediately, the king wants to speak with you, and to send you to Paris, to give the necessary orders there, for messieurs de Biron and d'Auvergne are made prisoners." "And where were they taken, said I †." "In the king's closet," he replied. "God be praised," said I, that the king has followed that advice." I ran directly to his majesty's apartment. "Our men are seized," said he to me, mount your horse, and go and prepare their lodgings in the Bastile; I shall send them in a boat to the gate of the arsenal next the river: make them land there, that they may not be seen, and carry them without any noise through the midst of your courts and gardens. When you have made proper dispositions in the arsenal for their reception, if you can before they arrive, which they will do soon after you, go to the parliament and the town-house, and declare there what has happened; tell them that, at my arrival, they shall know the reasons for this proceeding, which they will find to be just." All these orders were happily and exactly executed. At the very moment the prisoners

† Vitry arrested the marechal de Biron as he came out of the king's antichamber. "Sir, says he to him, the king has commanded me to give him an account of your person: deliver me your sword." "You but jest," replies Biron to him. "Sir, rejoins Vitry, the king has so commanded me." "Pray, says the marechal again, let me speak to the king." "No, Sir, returns Vitry, the king is retired to rest." Praslin waited at the same time for the count d'Auvergne at the gate of the castle, to whom, as he came out, he said, "You are the king's prisoner." "What I, I, returned the count d'Auvergne, much surprised." "Yes you, Sir, says Praslin to him. I arrest you in the king's name: deliver me your sword." "Here take it, replies the count, it has never killed any but wild boars: if you had acquainted me sooner of this, I would have been in bed and asleep two hours ago.

landed

landed at the arsenal, my wife was brought to bed of that daughter of mine who bore the title of *mademoiselle de Sully*.

I GAVE the care of the prisoners to the soldiers of the king's guards joined to my own, and posted them in such a manner that they might be said to be guards upon each other. I likewise placed a guard upon the bastion opposite to the windows in the prisoners apartment, and another upon the terrace of the tower; so that, as I wrote to the king, it was impossible they should escape, unless by the interposition of angels. The repeated advices I received from his majesty obliged me to take all these precautions. A few days after the detention of the prisoners, the king wrote to me, that he was informed, there was a scheme laid to procure their escape, ordering me to watch them carefully, for that I should answer for them. I consented to this condition, relying on the fidelity of my soldiers, who, to make an escape practicable, must have been corrupted every one. Another time the king sent me notice, that the plot which was formed for delivering Biron and d'Auvergne, was also against my person: a boat full of soldiers was in the night to come up the river, and the men were to land at the steps of a gate behind my apartment which looked upon the river, that they were to force open this gate with a petard, to do the same by the second, and get into my chamber while I was in bed, and carry me to Franche-Comté, fresh horses being in readiness for them at the end of every ten leagues; and that, when in possession of my person, they were to deal with me by way of reprisal, as Biron should be dealt with. This last information, although so circumstantial, appeared to me as frivolous as the rest: I thanked his majesty, however, for giving it to me. He had the goodness to command me to be strictly attentive to my own safety, assuring me, that, if the designs which was laid against me should succeed, he would

not

not hesitate a moment to purchase me at the price of freeing the prisoners; and, if there were occasion, by a still greater concession. To satisfy him, I placed a small guard likewise at this gate.

THE first president, the president de * Blancmesnil, and the two counsellors de Fleury and de Thurin, were named by the parliament to interrogate the prisoners, whom, for this purpose, I ordered to be carried into a small pavillion in the midst of the great walk of the arsenal: as it was necessary likewise that they should be examined in full parliament, I caused a covered boat to be prepared from them, in which they were carried thither and brought back again, without been seen. The history of this trial, and all the particulars of the event I am now relating, are known to every one; and that marechal Biron †, seeing Miron, the lieutenant-civil, at the foot of the scaffold, gave him a caution against La-Fin, took his leave of the elder Rumigny, entreating him to bear his respects to mademoiselle de Rumigny, which, he said was all the present he had to make her; and many circumstances of the like nature. The sudden sallies of rage, the terrors and weakness which this man †, who, amidst the greated dangers of

* Achilles de Harlay, the first president; Nicholas de Potier, *seur* de Blancmesnil, president; Stephen de Fleury, dean; Philibert de Thurin counsellor of the grand chamber.

† The particular account of this affair, to which the author here refers, is to be found in all the historians, and in many other writings.

‡ These inward agitations had almost deprived him of his senses, and gave great trouble to the assistants, especially to the executioner, who durst not let him see his sword, and who yet took his opportunity so well, by amusing the marechal, that he made his head fly off at one blow, which he gave so dextrously that it was scarcely seen. I cannot forbear mentioning, to the honour of learning, that marechal Biron the father was as remarkable for erudition, as the son for ignorance; he could scarcely read. The following account of him, from the *Chronologie Septennaire*, will serve to finish his character. The author, after observing that he had almost all the qualities necessary to make a great warrior, namely, that he was brave, successful, indefatigable, sober, and temperate, adds, "He was particularly fond of splendor, proud, and ostentatious, and even has been often known to despise the pleasures of the table and live abstemiously, that he might

war, had acquired the character of intrepid, shewed at his execution, have furnished matter for much discourse, and doubtless will not be forgot by historians : as for me, I have nothing new to relate, except, perhaps, some circumstances that regard me personally.

WHILE preparations were making for trying the two state prisoners, they often desired to speak with me * : two considerations hindered me from giving

“ might gratify his fantastic passion for glory ; he was daring in battle, and immeasurably ambitious : he was so presumptuous as to believe that neither the king nor France could do without him ; he was also become so malevolent and slanderous, that he spoke ill of all princes ; he has been often heard to ridicule the mass, and make a jest of the pretended reformed : there are numberless instances given of his having but little religion ; he relied very much on the predictions of astrologers and divines.” The author after this gives an account of an adventure that happened to him as he was going to consult, under a borrowed name, the old astrologer La Brosse, the same of whom M. de Sully speaks so often in his memoirs. “ This good man, says he, who was then in a little tower or garret that served him for a study, said to him, Well, my son, I see the person for whom this horoscope is cast will arrive at great honours, through his diligence and military bravery, and might come to be a king, but there is a *caput algol* that keeps him from it.” “ And what is the meaning of that, says the baron de Biron.” “ Don’t ask me the meaning of it, returns La Brosse ?” “ No, says the baron, but I must know.” After many altercations between them, La Brosse at length said, “ The meaning is this, my friend, he will do so much that he shall have his head cut off.” Upon this, the baron fell upon him and beat him cruelly, and afterwards leaving him half dead, came down from the garret, taking the key of the door with him. This account is filled with other pretended predictions that were made him, and to which I think no man of sense would have shewn any regard.

* He requested the sieur de Baranton, M. de Praslin’s lieutenant, to wait on M. Rosny from him, and tell him that he desired to see him ; but, if that favour could not be obtained, he earnestly begged of him to intercede with the king for his life, a piece of service which he expected from him, as he always had a great esteem for him, and found him to be his friend, and such a friend that, had he been persuaded by him, he would not have been in the place where he then was ; that there were persons more guilty than himself, but that he was the most unfortunate of them all ; that he was content to be confined between four bare walls and chained down. The earnest entreaties which the sieur de Baranton made in his name so greatly affected M. de Rosny and his lady, the sieur Zamet, and others, who were present, that they were unable to speak for some time, and sat listening in tears. At length M. de Rosny broke silence and said, “ I cannot see him nor intercede for him, it is now too late ; had he been persuaded by

them this satisfaction; first, because it would be to no purpose to hear the prayers and solicitations of Biron, whose death was too necessary for the good of the state, and too firmly resolved by the king, to give hopes of obtaining his pardon; and secondly, having been comprehended myself in La-Fin's depositions, I was not willing to give either weak or malignant persons room to suspect that I had used any endeavours with the prisoners to keep them silent with regard to me, or that I had any occasion to speak to them. It was my design, on the other hand, that, if any supposed me to have had the least connexion with Biron, they should think that, by thus refusing to see him, I should make him resolve to live no longer on terms of civility with a man whom, upon that supposition, he must, for many reasons, regard as a traitor. He revered my innocence, and if he spoke of me, as he often did, it was only to praise the counsels I had given him, and to condemn himself for not following them.

DEFFUNCTIS, grand-provost of the Isle-de-France, took down in writing all the conversations in which marechal Biron had mentioned my name, and gave the manuscript to me some time afterwards. By that I learned that Biron, when he came out of the chapel, where he had made his confession to the sieurs Garnier and Maignan doctors of the Sorbonne, asked if there was no person there belonging to monsieur de Rosny; and being told that the younger Arnaud was there, he called him and said, "Monsieur Arnaud, I desire you will carry my last farewell to monsieur de Rosny, and tell him, that to-

" me, he had not been in this melancholy situation, for he ought to have declared the truth to his majesty, from the time of his arrival at Fontainebleau; and since he did not so, he has taken from the king the means of giving him his life, and from all his friends that of interceding for him." *Chronologie Septennaire*, ann. 1602. See the whole of this affair in the historian Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 482, to 534, where an account given of what relates to the duke of Sully is conformable to that in our *Memoirs*.

" day

“ day he loses one of his best friends, and the most
 “ affectionate kinsman and servant he ever had : I
 “ have always highly esteemed his merit, and va-
 “ lued his friendship. Alas !” said he, after raising
 his voice and shedding some tears, which obliged
 him to keep his face covered with his handkerchief,
 “ had I believed him, I should have avoided this
 “ fate : tell him, I beseech you, that I recommend
 “ my brothers to him, particularly my brother *
 “ Saint Blancard who is his nephew, and that I in-
 “ treat he will give my youngest brother some post
 “ about the dauphin, and that he would tell them
 “ that, although I have failed in my duty and obe-
 “ dience, yet that they ought faithfully to perform
 “ theirs, and continue always firm in their attach-
 “ ment to the king ; but that he would not let
 “ them come immediately to court, lest they should
 “ suffer any reproaches on my account.” Another
 time Biron, talking of me, said, “ The king has,
 “ in monsieur de Rosny, a faithful servant, and a
 “ wise and prudent counsellor ; his majesty has done
 “ well to make use of him ; for while he continues
 “ to direct his councils, France will be happy, and
 “ I might have been so likewise, had I governed
 “ myself by his advice.” On any other occasion I
 should have avoided inserting, in these Memoirs,
 such discourses in my praise ; but on this I did not
 think myself at liberty to make the least alteration in
 the marshal’s words. I was ignorant of his hav-
 ing given these public testimonies of his esteem for
 me, when I joined with the rest of his relations † in

* John de Contaut, seigneur de Saint Blancard, had married ma-
 demoiselle de Saint-Geniès, niece to M. de Sully. The marshal de
 Biron had no other brothers living ; he must therefore comprehend
 under that name his brothers-in-law.

† Messieur de Saint Blancard, de la Force, the count de Rouffy, de
 Chateaufort, de Thémis, de Salignac, and de Saint Angel, went
 three days after the arrest of marshal de Biron, to throw themselves
 at the feet of his majesty, who was then at St. Maur des Fossés, but
 they could obtain no other favour than that which our author speaks
 of here. Henry comforted them by reminding them of the example
 of here. Henry comforted them by reminding them of the example

imploring a favour for him, a slight one indeed, it was only to change the place destined for his execution; accordingly, instead of the Gréve, which was named in the sentence that was passed upon him, his majesty permitted the marshal to be beheaded in the court of the Bastille.

THE death of Biron entirely disconcerted all the schemes of the cabal. Lavardin, who had been sent at the same time by his majesty into Burgundy, at the head of a body of troops, took possession of all the places there which had been held by marshal Biron, without striking a blow, and sent Senece to inform the king that this province had submitted. The government of it was given to the dauphin, to whom M. Le Grand was made lieutenant. The proceedings against the conspirators stopped here; and, except Fontenelles*, whom Henry thought it necessary to punish for an example to others, although he was not one of the principal criminals, he pardoned all the rest. The number of the conspirators was very great, and, upon examination, many of the most considerable courtiers† were involved in the guilt. I strengthened as much as possible the king's inclinations to lenity: I forewarned those whom I knew to have had some share in the confidence of Biron, and represented to them so plainly, that all

of the constable de Saint Paul, allied to the house of Bourbon, who was beheaded for a similar crime, and the prince of Condé, who would have undergone the same fate, had it not been for the death of Francis II. &c. MS. Bibliot. royale, vol. 9129, where likewise may be seen a collection of pieces relating to the marshal de Biron's process.

* Guy Eder de Beaumanoir, baron de Fontenelles, was a gentleman of Brittany. He was convicted of having intended to deliver up the fort of Douarnenes to the Spaniards, for which he was drawn upon a sledge, and broke alive in the Gréve. "The king, says M. de Perceire, in consideration of his family, which was very illustrious, granted to his relations that, in the arret, he should not be called by his own name; but history could not conceal it." M. De Thou, liv. 128. speaks of him as of a fellow who had been employed in Brittany by the league.

† According to Siri, there was something more than mere suspicions against the constable de Montmorency, and even against the duke of Montpensier. Mem. second, vol. I. p. 103.

they

they had now to do was to throw themselves at the king's feet, and implore his pardon, that almost all pursued this method: the secrecy which I promised them will not permit me to mention their names here, and, far from having any cause to repent of a step of which the king and myself only were witnesses, they were soon convinced that his majesty not only took care to shew he had no resentment against them, but likewise appeared to hold them in higher esteem than before. Herbert, who was secretary to the party, and had been several times sent into Milan, and throughout all Italy, by marechal Biron, was likewise arrested. I was ordered to interrogate him in the presence of the count d'Auvergne, and to receive his depositions, the king having promised him a pardon, upon condition that he sincerely declared all he knew. The principal discovery he made, and that which gave the fullest conviction of the perfidy of Spain, was, that Roncas and Alphonso Cazel had been sent by that court at different times with large sums of money to marechal Biron. To convince Herbert that his majesty had no design to deceive him, before I began to examine him, I delivered his pardon, signed by the king, into the hands of the count d'Auvergne.

The baronde Lux was not excepted out of the general amnesty; his perplexity, when he heard of the imprisonment of his friend, had been very great, because he found it equally dangerous to leave, as to stay in the kingdom; he was still undetermined what to do, when La Plume came from his majesty with an order to attend him, promising him his pardon, at the same time, if he would endeavour to deserve it by his obedience and repentance. De Lux, sensible of his guilt, was now more alarmed than before; yet he told the messenger that he was ready to obey the king's orders, provided he would assure him that he should not be exposed to the shame of a public examination, nor be confronted with his

accusers; that he should be continued in his post *, and permitted to retire from court after his confession: he was afraid of being detained, under pretence that it was either not full enough or insincere. There being no letter from his majesty, De Lux appeared contented with a promise under my hand that he should receive no harm.

THE king having granted all that the baron De Lux demanded, he came to Paris, and meeting his majesty as he was going to hunt, threw himself at his feet, and was beginning a long speech, when the king, who had not leisure to hear him then, stopped him short, by saying, "Go to monsieur de Rosny, and I will talk to you afterwards." This order, the tone with which De Lux fancied it was given, and the place to which he was sent, raised such apprehensions in his mind, that he was upon the point of making his escape. However, he came to the arsenal, but under such terrors, that, instead of listening to any thing I said to him, he was continually looking round him; and his apprehensions were increased when he saw his majesty's guards enter and file off in the court of the arsenal, the king having sent them thither, because he intended to pass by the arsenal in his return from the chace. De Lux now thought himself lost. "Ah! monsieur, said he to me, I came hither upon the king's word and yours; do you intend to detain me." "Why do you ask me this question, monsieur, said I." "The guards said he, which I perceive entering in files, persuaded me that it is not the king who is coming, but that they are probably sent for me." Without giving me time to undeceive him, he entreated me to allow him to speak to the king before he was confined, promising, and I believe very sincerely, to conceal nothing from him. "I have observed your uneasiness, replied I, but

* He was governor of the castle of Dijon, and the town of Beaune.

“ be not afraid, I have no orders to arrest you ;
 “ speak freely to the king, swear to be faithful to
 “ him, and keep your oath ; you will then have
 “ nothing to apprehend ; had the duke of Biron
 “ acted in that manner, he would have been now
 “ alive.” That moment a messenger informed me
 that the king was returned to the Louvre, and de-
 sired to speak with me ; the evening was so far ad-
 vanced before the chace was ended, that, instead of
 coming to the arsenal, as he had proposed, he went
 directly to the palace. This message relieved the
 baron De Lux from his terrors.

THE next day he had a conference with his ma-
 jesty, which lasted above four hours ; he gave no
 cause for accusing him of indiscretion in concealing
 his accomplices, but named such a prodigious num-
 ber of persons, that Henry, glad to find in such ge-
 neral accusations a pretence for believing none and
 for making himself easy, treated all those whom De
 Lux accused, and who were continually about him,
 no less favourable than before. It is certain, how-
 ever, that many of them were acquainted with mare-
 chal Biron’s designs ; but the hope of remaining un-
 noticed amongst the crowd, determined them not to
 own their connexions with him, notwithstanding all
 the advances and promises which I made them. The
 constable had indeed kept up a sort of intimacy with
 Biron, which in prudence ought to have been avoid-
 ed ; but, as I was persuaded that it was merely per-
 sonal, and extended no further, I thought myself
 obliged to justify him to his majesty, on whom his
 assurance of fidelity made so little impression, that he
 could not help regarding him with an eye of suspi-
 cion : I may say with truth, that my endeavours did
 not a little contribute towards restoring him to the
 king’s favour ; and this prince had no reason to repent
 of his clemency, to him or any of the others *, except

* It is not certain that Henry IVth never had reason to repent of
 this indulgence. As to the assassination of this prince, there remains a

only the count of Auvergne, to whom it is time to return.

THE nature of that crime which he, as well as the duke of Biron, had committed, and the equality of the proofs against them, made it highly probable that their punishment would be alike; however, their fates were very different; the king not only gave him his life, which he caused to be intimated to him by the constable, but also softened, as much as possible, the inconvenience of his imprisonment: he permitted him to agree with the lieutenant of the Bastille for his table, discharged him of the expence of the officers and soldiers appointed for his guard, and reduced them afterwards to five, comprehending the exempt, upon my representations that a greater number was useless. At first, indeed, he was not allowed to walk upon the terrasses, but afterwards he was indulged in all his desires; and at length wholly † discharged from his confinement. He had been so little accustomed to be treated as a criminal, that when he was told the king had granted him his life, he said, it signified nothing, unless he gave him his liberty likewise.

THOSE who praise alike the good or bad actions of kings, will not want arguments to justify Henry in this different treatment of two equally guilty; they will alledge, as it was then reported at court, that the services his majesty might expect from the

great many doubts, the clearing of which becomes more and more difficult: but by supposing what is very likely, namely, that the blow which took off Henry IV. did not proceed from the conspiracy here spoken of, we may still believe that this catastrophe had not happened, if the conspirators had been prosecuted with more severity: in this case it must be allowed, that Henry IV. and M. de Rosny were deceived by their too great lenity, of which the prince became the victim. What the author says four lines higher of those who boldly concealed themselves among the crowd, sufficiently shews, that the spirit of revolt was not extinguished by the death of its head.

† In the beginning of October. "It was not, says le Septennaire, without having first made an open confession to messieurs the chancellor, de Sillery, and Rosny."

count

count of Auvergne, in discovering to him the plots of the Spanish party against France, made it necessary to pardon him for his own interest. For my own part, I am too candid not to confess, that on this occasion the king gave no proof of his clemency, but of his passion for the marchioness of Verneuil, sister to the count of Auvergne; which was the sole cause of the indulgence he shewed to the count. However, I concealed my thoughts with great care, and, during two years, never mentioned a word to the king upon the subject, being persuaded, that all the arguments I could use at the time would have no force against the prayers and tears of a mistress; and when the thing was done, it was to no purpose to shew him his error. It was not till after the count of Auvergne had, by new instances of ingratitude, obliged his benefactor to proceed against him as a criminal, that I just hinted my thoughts of his former conduct, and then I was forced to it by the king himself.

ONE day, when the king and I were alone, the conversation turned upon this subject; and Henry, after viewing me silently for some time, at length told me, that he had been often greatly surprized at my not asking him his reasons for preserving the count of Auvergne. I replied, that I had thought it my duty to keep my conjectures on that head to myself, among which there were two that appeared to me to be the most probable, but that I never chose to explain myself to his majesty, for fear of offending him. Henry answered immediately, with his usual vivacity, that he could easily guess, that one of the motives to which I attributed the favour he had shewn the prisoner, regarded the marchioness of Verneuil; and assured me, that that alone had been but sufficient to have commuted his punishment into a perpetual imprisonment; but that he was absolutely ignorant of the second, to which I supposed his deliverance had been owing, and pressed me repeat-

edly to tell him what it was. I confessed to him, that it had been always my opinion that his majesty would not inflict a shameful death upon a man who would be always considered as the uncle of his children, in case he should have any by the marchioness of Verneuil. Henry swore to me, that he had not hitherto carried his reflections so far, although that consideration, if it had occurred to him, would have had great weight with him; and he insisted upon my guessing, in my turn, the true reason that had induced him to set Auvergne at liberty: he again repeated to me, that the solicitations of his mistress, the intreaties of the constable, his three daughters, and of Ventadour, who had all thrown themselves at his feet, had not had so great a share in that resolution as I imagined, they having contented themselves with asking only the life of the prisoner. And at length, after all this winding, he declared to me, that his chief inducement to pardon Auvergne was the great promises he made him, and the air of sincerity with which they were accompanied: he then related to me all that had passed between himself and Auvergne, when the latter implored the favour of a conference with him: he told me, that the count, after many assurances of a sincere repentance, and protestations of inviolable fidelity for the future, had promised him, with the most sacred oaths, if he would restore him to liberty, to get him intelligence of the most secret resolutions that were taken in the council of Spain; to accomplish which, he had only to resume, in appearance, his former engagements with that court, well knowing how to deceive them, and to make them take for true, what on his side would be only feigned: but that this dissimulation might not, in Spain, draw upon him the punishment of a traitor, it was necessary that his majesty should not reveal to any of his ministers what he then said, nor take umbrage at his journeys to Spain, nor the packets he should receive from thence,

THE

THE king, after this recital, added, that it was with difficulty he could bring himself to believe the promises Auvergne made him, or suppose that he could fall so low, as to take up the trade of a spy; and become a double traitor; but that after the count had assured him he really meant to perform all he had engaged for, although he hated him more than ever, yet he was determined to expect the effect of his promises, and make use of him to procure such intelligence concerning the proceedings of Spain, as he could obtain by no other means; and in this expectation, he had promised Auvergne secrecy, and the other condition he had demanded.

THE conclusion I came to, from what the king told me, was, that he was every way deceived by the count of Auvergne, or rather, I repeat it again, betrayed by his passion for his mistress: this was the fascination that closed his eyes upon the artifice of Auvergne; and, after having prevailed upon him to spare his life, snatched from him likewise the grant of his liberty, and that upon so slight a foundation, as does little honour to the prudence of Henry. It is not clear, indeed; whether Auvergne had not then an inclination to keep his word; but by suffering himself to be seduced a second time, became once more a traitor to his prince.

It must likewise be confessed, that he was ingenious, subtle, penetrating, and naturally eloquent; qualities very fit for the part he had undertaken to act: but, not to mention his ambition, his inclination to debauchery, and other dangerous passions, he had in his heart such a fund of malice and perfidiousness, that it was easy to see he would resume his former dispositions; but he resumed them with so much address, that the king did not perceive when it happened, taking it for granted, that it did not happen the very moment he found himself secure. He often conferred with his majesty concerning the king of Spain, and related very bad things of him.

the better to play his part ; but all he said might be reduced to matters of little consequence ; while, to the court of Spain, he gave very exact and very material informations of every thing that passed in France. I shall return to him again in another place.

THE prince of Joinville *, to whom Henry likewise extended his clemency, was a young man of a different character ; nothing could be more light, more whimsical, and more unsteady ; he had engaged himself with bad company, among whom, to be in the fashion, and to appear a man of consequence, it was necessary that he should have correspondences without the kingdom ; this was sufficient to ruin him entirely. His majesty being informed that he carried on his intrigues with Spain by the count of Chamnite, governor of Franche-Comté for the king of Spain, and one of his ministers, he ordered him to be arrested : as soon as he found himself in custody, he, like all the others, declared, that he was ready to make a full confession, provided it was to the king in person, and that I should be present. I had left Paris in the evening, to visit my new acquisition of Sully, and to trace out the plan of some buildings there, to render it more habitable than it was at present. I was just arrived, and preparing to sit down to supper, when I heard his majesty's postilion blow his horn, and immediately suspected my stay at Sully would not be long. He gave me a billet from the king, which contained only an order to come to him, without explaining himself any farther. Believing the business to be of the utmost importance, I set out so early the next morning, that I only saw Sully by the light of the flambeaux. When I was made acquainted with the affair, I thought it my duty to intercede for an unexperienced

† Claude de Lorraine, fourth son to Henry duke of Guise, who was killed at Blois ; he was afterwards duke de Chevreuse, and died in 1657.

youth, who was drawn into errors by his rashness and folly. Joinville being brought before us, confessed all he was desired to do. The king, entering immediately into his character, treated him as he deserved; he sent for his mother, the duchess of Guise, and the duke, his brother, and taking them into his closet, "Here, said he, is the prodigal son himself. I shall use him like a child, and pardon him for yours and monsieur de Rosny's sake, who has intreated for him; but I do it upon condition that you will all three reprove him severely; and that you, nephew" added he, turning to the duke of Guise, "will answer for his conduct for the future: I give him to your care, make him wise, if it be possible."

THIS change was not so easy a thing to effect on a young man of lively passions, incapable of instruction, and whose disposition had already taken its bent: he was suffered to remain in prison for some months, where at first he was obstinately sullen, then insolent and furious, and at last, through mere weariness, promised to behave well, if he was taken from thence. The king consented to his removal, and he was told, that he might go and live in the castle of Dampierre. Joinville was not much better pleased with this place than his prison, and represented to the king, that he could not reside in a castle which was not furnished. Unfortunately for him, the king knew this to be a falshood: having often hunted near that castle, and Chevreuse, which is but a small distance from it, the keeper of those two houses, had offered to accommodate him with apartments and beds there; and he had been told by the duchess of Guise, that Dampierre was as well furnished as Chevreuse. This behaviour of Joinville's so incensed the king against him, that he reproached me for the too great interest I took in the affairs of that family, and ordered me to concern myself less with them for the future. And now his
majesty,

majesty, instead of revoking his sentence, declared that the prisoner should be again examined before he was enlarged; which renewing his former fears, he promised to make a fuller confession than he had yet done; but being, as he said, apprehensive that his majesty was still angry with him, he again entreated that I might be the person to whom he spoke.

THE duke of Bouillon took care not to return from his estates, as he had promised the king; therefore, after Biron was arrested, his majesty judged it necessary to write to him, to see if upon this occasion he would not give some proof of his connexion with the prisoner: he informed him, that marechal Biron had been convicted of conspiring against the state; and that when he came to court he would shew him the proofs of his treason, and acquaint him with all the particulars of it; satisfying himself with thus insinuating that he expected the performance of his promise, without giving him a direct order to come. The duke of Bouillon easily comprehended the design of this letter, and answered it no otherwise, than by sending a gentleman of his retinue immediately to his majesty, to congratulate him upon the danger he had escaped. By this person he sent a letter to me, in which he carefully avoided saying any thing from which the least advantage could be taken, either because he had already learnt that his associate was seized, or that his imagination suggested to him immediately the behaviour which it was proper for him to assume. He told me, that never had any one's astonishment equalled his, when he learned that the state and the king's person had been in danger; that his fidelity, and the readiness he shewed to go to every place where his duty and the king's service called him, would, he hoped, convince his majesty, that he should never have the like reason to be apprehensive of him; and that he would expect the king's orders, and my good advice, that he might

5

obey

obey the one, and follow the other. The whole letter was conceived in terms such as these : he could not, however, hinder himself from hinting something in favour of the accused, but in a manner so general as could not hurt him. After expressing his wishes, that this event might not give his majesty any disturbance, he added these words, “ nor alter the “ natural sweetness of his disposition.”

The king, when I shewed him this letter, thought he might make use of it to draw Bouillon to court, for he durst not send him an absolute command to come, lest by a refusal he should lay him under the necessity of punishing him for his disobedience by the force of arms, which he neither chose nor could conveniently do ; he therefore told me, that since Bouillon asked my advice concerning what it was proper for him to do in this conjuncture, I should reply, that it was true, the king had been informed he was not wholly unacquainted with the duke of Biron's intrigues, but that this ought to strengthen his resolution of coming to his majesty, either to justify his innocence, or, by confessing his fault, to obtain a pardon for it ; and that I should assure him, that I would give him my word, or if necessary become his surety, that so far from having any thing to fear, he should be received by the king with open arms. Henry, knowing my delicacy on these occasions, prevented my scruples, by telling me, that he would engage his royal word that Bouillon should be treated in whatever manner I promised him ; and, not satisfied with this verbal assurance, he gave me a writing conceived in these terms : “ I promise to “ M. de Rosny, that if the duke of Bouillon comes “ to court upon his letters, and the promises he shall “ make him, I will observe them all faithfully, or “ give the duke free leave to retire wherever he “ pleases ; and neither in his journey to or from the “ court shall he receive any disturbance ; for all “ which I engage my faith and royal word to the “ said

“ said sieur de Rosny. Given at Paris, June 24,
“ 1602.”

I WROTE to the duke of Bouillon, and without telling him of the engagement his majesty entered into with me concerning him, pressed him in the strongest terms, and by every argument I thought could have any weight with him, to come and settle for some time at court. This letter Bouillon received almost at the same time with the verbal answer the king sent him by his deputy, and took occasion, from his majesty's not having himself pressed him to come, to tell me in answer, that the advice I gave him being inconsistent with the king's orders, he could not govern himself by it, whatever inclination he might have to do so; and that he would content himself with sending to court, as his majesty required, a person who should give as satisfactory an account of his conduct, as he himself could do, and ought to be equally depended upon. This person was a gentleman named Rignac, who accordingly came to court about the same time that I received Bouillon's answer to my letter, and whose expences were all defrayed, as if his journey had been of great importance, because, in appearance, he came by his majesty's orders: but the duke of Bouillon, instead of coming himself, removed still farther from court, and went to Castres.

I AM not surprized that my arguments had on this occasion so little weight with him, since he regarded me as his enemy, and did not scruple to call me so in public; nor was the king ignorant that this was his opinion, having informed me of it himself in a letter dated the 28th day of December this year; nor was I more surprized at the manner in which the duke of Bouillon acted with his majesty. As soon as he perceived (which was no very difficult matter for him to do) that the king had recourse to dissimulation with him, he supposed it easy enough to impose upon his majesty and his council without
risking

risking any danger ; for this purpose, all that was necessary was, to answer, in * appearance, always with great submission, without taking any of those measures which they durst not formally prescribe to him. This artifice succeeded so well, that he made use of it a long time. Nothing could be conceived in more modest or respectful terms, than the letter he wrote on this subject to Du-Maurier ; and which, after his majesty had perused it, was given to me, to be communicated to the chancellor and the duke d'Epemon, with whom, by the king's orders, I treated this affair methodically. The king strongly interested himself in it, and had a conference with Constant and Saint-Aubin about the duke of Bouillon, which lasted a whole afternoon, but it produced nothing.

THE game which upon this occasion was played by the king of Spain and the duke of Savoy was still more uncommon. All the foreign powers in alliance with Henry, more especially England and Scotland, whose ambassadors were still at Paris, congratulated his majesty, upon his having so happily crushed this dangerous conspiracy. Philip and Charles-Ermanuel appeared more eager than any of the others to compliment the king upon this event : unless fear was their motive, it is not easy to guess what could oblige them to have recourse to so gross an artifice. Henry was more sincere with them ; he signified to them, that he was well informed of the part they both had in the plot ; all the blame of which they threw upon the count of Fuentes, as boldly as if it had been possible to have persuaded him that this Spaniard would have dared, without their permission, to act in concert with Biron and the other conspirators.

* The duke de Bouillon's letters to the king we find in the 3d tom. of Villeroy's *Memoire d'Estat*, p. 158, & seq. See likewise the reasons which the historians of his life adduced, to clear him of the accusation of having been concerned in marechal de Biron's plot, his refusing to come and wait upon the king, and his flight to Castrès. *Ibid.* v. p. 222, & seq.

THE king, some days after the execution of marshal Biron, coming to the arsenal, I had a conversation with that prince that well deserves to be related: " You see," said he to me, after making some reflections, as usual, upon the ingratitude of messieurs de Biron, d'Auvergne, de Bouillon, and three more of the most considerable noblemen of the court, whom he had pardoned, and whose names he mentioned, " you see that those on whom I have bestowed the greatest favours, are the same persons " by whose ambition and caprice I have suffered the " most." He then observed to me, that these six men had, at different times, received larger sums from him, than the five kings his predecessors, except Henry III. who had been accused of such great prodigality, had given to their favourites. Henry added, that to silence those who always unreasonably enumerated the services of these six gentlemen, he would have me draw up a memorial of all the rewards they had received from him since they had entered into his service ; in which he did not pretend to include any thing but those presents which his liberality only had induced him to make them, and not such possessions as they had acquired by his assistance, and enjoyed through his protection ; such, for example, was the principality of Sedan, for which Bouillon was doubly obliged to him, having first procured, and then secured him the possession of it, as has been seen, on an occasion sufficiently perplexing.

THE king, whose sole view in entering upon this subject was to make a particular application to me, told me, that by this discourse, which might have some relation to the present state of my fortune, he had no intention to give me a lesson, being too well persuaded of my fidelity to think there was any occasion for it ; but that having seriously reflected upon the manner in which it was necessary he should behave to me, that he might not expose himself to the mortification of seeing the confidence he had in me lessened,

lessened, he thought prudence required that he should take two precautions, with respect to me, in the rewards my services and family deserved from him :

“ One of these precautions, said the king, has a reference to the world, the other to myself : first, that these rewards should neither succeed each other so rapidly, nor in themselves be so excessive, as to render you the object of public hatred, always ready to break out against first ministers : and the second, that these estates and these honours should be of such a nature, as, if it should happen that through religion, or any other motive, you should be capable of violating your duty, they may not put you into a condition of giving any umbrage to your benefactor himself, or after his death, of disturbing the tranquility of his successor, or of putting the state in danger : in one word,” said this prince, after giving me to understand, that as he spoke without any disguise, he would permit me to tell him my sentiments freely likewise, “ I would take from myself the least occasion of suspicion against you, that my friendship for you may continue unalterable. I daily experience so many instances of ingratitude, which I never expected, that, contrary to my inclinations, I am obliged to be distrustful. Do not imagine, therefore, that I will put you in possession of great cities and strong fortresses, which, in the high credit you are in, and the great abilities you are master of, might make you independent of me, and enable you, whenever you pleased, to throw the kingdom into confusion. I cannot do more for you than ought to be done for a servant, however faithful he may be, by a prince who has his honour, his reputation, and the interest of his people at heart ”

HENRY, without giving me time to reply, added, that till proper opportunities offered for completing my fortune, he, from this moment, would join to
my

my salaries and pensions, which were but sufficient to answer the expences of my table and house, an extraordinary gratuity of sixty thousand livres a year; that by uniting this sum to my own estate I might purchase more lands, build upon them, furnish and embellish my new houses, and more advantageously settle my children; telling me graciously, that he still reserved to himself to give me other proofs of his friendship and liberality: "And this, pursued, " he, I shall do with the more willingness, as I am, " assured you will not squander these sums foolishly " on entertainments, dogs, horses, birds, and mistresses."

DURING this long discourse of Henry's, my mind was agitated with various thoughts, which made me listen to him in silence; the reflections it occasioned left me still more moved with his freedom, and the confidence he reposed in me, than discontented with a caution which many others in my situation would have thought excessive. The king having commanded me to be very sincere in my reply, I told him, that although I had at this moment an absolute certainty in my own mind, that neither his majesty, nor his successors, nor the state, should ever have any cause for those apprehensions of me which his wisdom had suggested, yet I myself did not think he carried it too far; it being, in my opinion, one of the chief maxims of government, that a prince ought never to deliver himself up blindly to one person, whatever services he may have received from him, since it is next to impossible that any one should be able to answer for the wisdom and justness of his counsels for the future; therefore, instead of thinking myself injured, I found cause, in all his majesty had said, to admire his prudence, and to acknowledge his goodness, since whatever bounds he should prescribe to his favours, they would always equally exceed my expectations and my services.

As I could not doubt but that the malignant insinuations

finuations of the courtiers, who were jealous of my favour with his majesty, had some share in those fears he expressed of me, I seized this opportunity to explain myself on an article, which from this moment I foresaw I should be under a necessity of returning to more than once. I begged his majesty would permit me to represent to him, that he ought not to give faith to the poisonous reports of informers, without having first had good proofs of my crime, and given me an opportunity of defending myself. I assured him, that he would find me sincere enough to confess my faults, which alone deserved that he should treat me in this manner; and that he should be convinced that what my enemies imputed to criminal views, could but at most amount to a failing, which I would not scruple to confess that instant, and for which I had some occasion for his indulgence; and this was, that, through impatience of any obstacle or delay in any resolution that I judged necessary to be taken, some words of complaint or anger might escape me against the too easy disposition of his majesty, of which my enemies would not fail to take advantage, although the purity of my intentions might be easily perceived in the words themselves which served for a foundation for the calumny.

WHAT I then said to the king, I now repeat to my readers, and not through an affectation of modesty, which may hold the place of justification; I am conscious I have no occasion for it, but because that, however irreproachable my conduct may have been, I have nevertheless, been more than once obliged to clear myself to the prince whom I served: if this confession does not hinder them from denying me that justice I have merited, it will not make them judge less favourably of Henry if they attend to the conjunctures and maxims of the times in which we both lived: and at all times, there is nothing against which it is so difficult to defend one's self, as the secret machinations of envious courtiers: what effect might

might they not be expected to produce in the mind of a prince who could collect a thousand examples of treachery, disloyalty, and disobedience to himself, and hardly one of real attachment? To judge clearly of the sentiments which Henry entertained for me, we must not consider him in those moments which the remembrance of so many instances of ingratitude, awakened by the most artful impostures, opened his heart in spite of him to distrust and suspicion; but when recovered from those impressions which the plots they endeavoured to comprehend me in had made on his mind, he gave me the sincerest proofs of his tenderness and esteem. The world therefore may judge as it pleases of those little disgraces which I have been obliged to sustain during the course of what will be called my glory and prosperity, and which probably any other might have suppressed, for the honour of having it said, that he directed as he pleased the inclinations of his master; on this subject I shall use neither disguise nor concealment, for truth is my guide, and instruction is my end.

THE duke of Luxembourg having had a cause brought before the parliament this year, the advocates that pleaded for him had the assurance to exact fifteen hundred crowns for their fees. The duke complained of this extortion to the king, who ordered the parliament to issue out an arret, by which the lawyers fees were reduced and settled, and they obliged to give receipts for all the money they received, and a general receipt for what papers were put into their hands, that they might be constrained to deliver up these, which they generally kept till their demands were satisfied†. The necessity of putting a curb to the avarice of these people had always appeared so strong, that the States had already given the same orders, but to no purpose. The parliament granted the arret that was demanded of them,

† Ordonnance de Blois, art. 162.

but the lawyers, instead of submitting to it, went, three or four hundred of them, to return into the public register the ensigns of their office, which produced a total cessation of law proceedings. There was almost a general murmur throughout Paris, particularly among pragmatical coxcombs and badauds *, a set of wretches with which the town is crowded, who, taking upon them to be wiser than the king, the peers, and the states of the kingdom, decided against them in favour of the advocates †, and found some abettors, even at court, who, with so much power and art exaggerated an evil, petty in itself and easily remedied, that the king was stunned with their clamours, and began to be in pain about the consequence.

WHILE this affair was yet in agitation, his majesty being one day in his closet conversing with some of the courtiers, and relating the continual solicitations that were made him in favour of the advocates, "Faith, Sire, I am not surpris'd at it," said Sigogne, raising his voice and assuming the air of one in a violent passion; "these men make it plainly appear that they know not how to employ their time, since they disturb themselves so much about a trifle: to hear their exclamations, one would think the state, without these bawlers, would be ruined; as if the kingdom under Charlemagne, and so many other great kings, during whose reigns neither advocates nor attorneys were heard of, was not in as flourishing a condition as it is at present, when we are devoured by these vermin." Sigogne afterwards, to prove that the

* Such as are fill'd cockneys at London.

† Matthieu, in relating this incident, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 478. seems in like manner, to take the part of the advocates, and yet, for all this, every good man must be of the duke of Sully's opinion. In the sequel of these *Memoires*, he proposes the means of considerably diminishing the number of processes; and 'tis for this that endeavours ought, indeed, to be chiefly us'd for business, to remedy the abuses of which he complains.

establishment of advocates in France was not very ancient, produced the register of the chancery, of which the first paper is intitled, "A permission to plead causes by an advocate;" and perceiving that he was listened to with pleasure, he added, that this science was established to the ruin of the nobility and the people, and the destruction of trade and agriculture. "There is not, said he, any artist, or even any simple labourer, that is not of more use to the community, than this swarm of men, who enrich themselves by our follies, and the artifices they have invented to stifle truth, throw down all right, and darken reason. If we are so blind," continued he with a vivacity truly diverting, "that we will not, and so unhappy that we cannot do without them, nothing remains to be done but to command them to resume the exercise of their employment within eight days at farthest, upon the conditions prescribed by the court, on pain of being obliged to return to the shop or the plough which they have quitted, or else to serve the state in Flanders with a musquet upon their shoulders. I'll answer for it, if this method be taken with them, we shall soon see them run with eagerness to resume these magnificent ensigns, like vermin towards a heap of wheat."

THERE was not one in the company who could not forbear smiling at this lively sally of Sigogne's, and the king was among the first, and confessed that his arguments were very convincing; but whether it was that he suffered himself to be overcome by the solicitations * that were made him, or alarmed by

* The medium made use of by the king's people, who underhand favoured the advocates in this affair, was, that the king should send new letters to the parliament, whereby the advocates were ordered to resume and continue their functions, on condition, however, of obeying the arrears of parliament, and the ordinances of the states. But, as these letters did at the same time allow them to make such remonstrances as they should think reasonable, with regard to the exercise of their several employments, and as they were particularly assured that they might act as before, they had no difficulty to submit thereto. Thou, liv. xxxviii. Sept. an. 1602, the

the fears of the consequences that might attend his joining this new disorder to those troubles by which the kingdom was then agitated, or that, as he afterwards declared, he had reserved to himself the making one day such a general regulation in this affair, that not only the advocates, but the attorneys and the whole body of the law should be comprehended in it, he consented that the arret should, for this time, continue without effect: and thus was this ludicrous business terminated; for reflections upon which, I refer the reader to Sigogne's own words: so the world was left to think that it was I who made him speak them †.

THIS naturally leads me to take notice of the great law-suit commenced this year by the third estate of Dauphiné against the clergy and nobility, upon the manner in which the taxes were settled and assessed in this province: myself, together with thirteen other commissioners, chosen amongst persons of the highest distinction in the kingdom, were named to take cognizance of it, but it was six years before it could be decided; the animosity between the parties concerned was so great, that there was a

† Le Journal d'Henry IV. relates a little piece of history which I shall set down here. Henry one time hunting on the side of Grosbois, dropt his company, as he frequently did, and came by himself to Creteil, which is a league on the other side of the bridge of Charenton, and that at noon-day, and as hungry as a hunter. Going into an inn, he inquired of the landlady if she had any thing for him to eat? To which she answered no, and that he was come too late, taking him only for a private gentleman. Henry then asked her, For whom is this roast-meat I see at the fire? For some gentlemen, replies she, that are above, and whom I take to be solicitors. The king sent, in a civil manner, to ask them to let him have a piece of their roast-meat, or to give him leave to sit at one end of their table, upon paying for it; both which they refused him. Upon this, Henry sent privately for Vitry, and eight or ten more of his attendants, whom he ordered to seize these solicitors, and carry them away to Grosbois to have them well whipped, to teach them more complaisance to gentlemen another time. "This the said sieur Vitry saw punctually and speedily performed," says the author, notwithstanding all the arguments, entreaties, and remonstrances of the "lawyers."

necessity for sending a second time to take information upon the spot. I took a more speedy method to bring a man, named Jousseau, to justice; he had been a receiver-general in the revenue, and, becoming a bankrupt, had carried off a great deal of the royal money. I caused him to be seized at Milan, whither he had retired, and he was hanged on a gibbet. All crimes that draw along with them the ruin of a multitude of families, cannot be too severely punished. The king again shewed himself solicitous for the interest of his finances, in the affair of the receivers and treasurers-general of Burgundy; some draughts had been made on them for the charges of garrisons and works of fortifications, which they had not paid, either through negligence, or with a bad design. I advised his majesty to send thither a commissary on whose probity he could depend; he did so, and he began by suspending those men from their employments, and himself performed the duties of treasurer. The money that was expended upon this occasion was raised out of the salaries of these receivers and treasurers, "That I, said Henry, may not pay the penalty for the fault they have committed against my service and their duty."

To prevent the exportation of gold and silver coin I found a method less tedious and severe than punishments and confiscations, which was only to raise their value †, there being no reason why they should

† The crown called *écud'or* or *au soleil*, which was valued at sixty sols tournois, was raised to sixty-five; that called *écu pistole* of fifty-eight sols, to sixty-two, and so of the other gold species; the silver franc of twenty sols was raised one sol and four deniers, and the rest in proportion. It was in the month of September that this double ordonnance passed, about the raising the value of money, and the re-establishing of reckoning by livres; for the reckoning by crowns had only taken place about twenty-five years before, that is, since the ordonnance of 1577, which had abrogated the reckoning by livres. Matthieu very highly approves of both these regulations of the duke of Sully's, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 540. Le Blanc, on the contrary, says, p. 351. 372, et seq. that, whatever cogent reasons they might have had for abrogating this famous ordonnance of 1577, it was very ill done, either with regard to the money itself, because the gold and sil-

be carried out of the kingdom, but that they would pass for more in the neighbouring countries than at home. At the same time, I settled, over all the

ver species were afterwards raised as much in seven years alone, as they had been during the space of seventy-five years before; or with regard to commerce, because that goods and merchandise were proportionably enhanced in their prices. The opinion of this last writer seems, to me, to be grounded upon strong reasons. The reckoning by crowns had been in favour of those who had their revenues in silver, those who improved their money in the public funds and otherwise, and those who sold goods upon credit payable at a certain time: the ordinance of 1577 secured the effects of a considerable number of the natives; and besides, if there had been any confusion found in the coin, this neither was, nor could be, the cause of it, but only the miserable condition into which the civil wars had reduced France. The duke of Sully projected these two regulations here spoken of, to prevent these disorders, which were, according to him, the too great plenty of foreign species that, in commerce, occupied the place of our own; secondly, the enhancement of the price of merchants goods; and lastly, the exportation of the gold and silver coin to our neighbours. It was equally easy to have made him sensible, that his complaints, in all these respects, signified nothing, any more than the remedy which he applied to them. We have already shewn, a little higher, in what sense it is that this quantity of foreign coin, which abounds in our commerce, is an advantage; and if it could be called an evil, the augmentation of the nominal value of coin, to wit, in reckonings, to which he has recourse, would be more proper to heighten than lessen it.

As to the raising of the price of goods, the same augmentation could not but make way for it still more; and the reason for obviating it, which he draws from the computation by livres, will appear, to every one, very insufficient, and even frivolous. Moreover, it appears to me, that the enhancing of the price of goods follows as a necessary consequence and effect of the multiplication of gold and silver in Europe, since the discovery of America. In order to prevent it, we must have prohibited all commerce, not only with Spain, whose mines furnish us now with these metals, but also with all our own neighbours, among whom they circulate as well as among us. A state that should be conducted by this principle, would, among the other states of Europe, make the same figure, as the republic of Lacedæmon did with respect to the rest of Greece. The only thing to be attended to, and which is of very great consequence, is, that all the merchandise and goods, and generally whatever constitutes a part of commerce, should rise at the same time and in the same proportion in value. If the production of manufactures be enhanced without raising the price of corn, for example, then agriculture is neglected: If the wages of journeymen be not proportioned to the one and the other, those people can no longer live and pay the taxes. As to the exporting of coin out of the kingdom, which seems to have been the chief

lom, the way of reckoning by livres, instead of
ns, as had been till then the practice : by some
may be thought an useless refinement, since all

of the duke of Sully, it is true, that the augmentation of its
t value in reckoning might, in some measure, prevent it, in an-
ing or diminishing the profit of the dealers in bullion; and,
ntly, this was the only reason that determined him. The nar-
ews of his age, with regard to the finances, and still more as to
erce, did not allow him to see that he destroyed a slight corruption
a great deal more considerable, nor suffer him to go up to the
of the evil: he would have perceived that the advantage of
erce, and consequently the greatest quantity of gold and silver,
main in that nation which shall have made all others to depend
upon them for riches, either natural or acquired; and that as
the ballance of trade shall be in favour of some one neighbouring
this prohibition of exporting gold and silver, is neither reason-
nor practicable. At present, when we begin to see a little
clearly into these matters, there is no one but agrees, that all
egulations, and this whole train of reasoning, did not reach
d proposed. Though the exigency of circumstances, which is
endless, does not permit either the providing against, or the
ng every thing to a single rule, we may, however, aver, that
rticle of money and commerce, there are two general and very
maxims which may be looked upon as invariable; and these
avoid, with the greatest care imaginable, meddling with the
d endeavour, continually, to render the French as laborious,
us, and frugal as possible. The frequent variations in the
mortal wounds both to domestic and foreign trade, by the
n of credit, the shutting up of private puries, the embarrass-
d disadvantage of exchange, and the ruin of estates: all this
le and obvious. To this we may add, that the king, who
be the only one who gains by such proceedings, to put the
rtially, always loses considerably more thereby than he gains;
hat the insolvency of his subjects is an evil which he always
th them, and even feels much longer than they do; all his
increase with the coin, so as not to be diminished even when

her principle has still less need of proof. It seems, that na-
served to France, the sovereignty of trade, from the advan-
er situation, and the goodness of her soil, which obliges a
of her neighbours to have recourse to her for all those
supply the first and essential necessaries of life: she has no
than to share, at least equally with them, in the commerce
e things that serve but for mere conveniency, or which
introduced into Europe. If the consumption of the latter
ed the produce of the former, we shall complain unjustly of
on; for to pretend to hinder the exportation of our mate-
and silver to foreigners, when it is we that are indebted
igners, is endeavouring to make the effect cease, without
e cause; but to set a Frenchman to commerce that is car-
ried

the ways of reckoning must come to the same thing: at last: I am, however, of opinion, experience having shewn me, that the custom of talking always of

ried on by sea, to manufactures and arts, to hinder him as much as possible from expending too much on things that come from abroad, and which are but superfluities, and, on the other hand, to increase his proper riches, by encouraging the cultivation of his lands; this is what we may truly call promoting the interest of trade. Besides Le Blanc and Matthieu, consult on the subject of this note De Thou, liv. cxxix. Le Grain, liv. viii. Perefice, and other writers of that time, in order to find out the history of these regulations of the finances and commerce; for in reality the reasonings of these writers on this whole matter are but little satisfactory: we might well say of them what the duke of Sully said to the parliament of Paris, "They are masters of arts which none of them know any thing of." *Mem. pour l'hist. de France.*

As M. de Sully treats no more of money, I will supply that part from the same Memoirs, tom. II. p. 275, & seq. though this writer seems not even to understand the state of the question, and speaks not very favourably of the king and his ministers. "At that time," says he, speaking of all the deliberations which were entered into upon this subject in 1609, "there was brought upon the carpet, and proposed to the council, a new edict for the coin, which they wanted to diminish and alter, that is, to raise its value; and by the same means to ruin the people. Every one murmured at this proposal; the king alone finding his account in it, laughed at it, and at all the world, even at his own ministers, and their remonstrances, as he did at the first president of the mint (William Le-Clerc) who being disconcerted in his speech, having been twice interrupted by his majesty's breaking into a fit of laughter, which made him stop short in the middle thereof; and upon his majesty's observing it, he says to him, Go on, Mr. president, for I am not laughing at you; but at my cousin, the count of Soissons, who is near me, and tells me, that he smells a shoulder of mutton. This second stroke struck him quite dumb. Upon which, the king falling into a fit of laughter, went away and left him. A native of Perigord, who was one of the principal persons that had communicated this project of the edict of the king, pressed much for its being put in execution. The king, who very well knew the iniquity of the edict, seeing himself continually teased by this rude contractor, at length asked him what countryman he was; to which he answered, I am a native of Perigord. *Ventre saint gris*, replies the king, I always thought so; for in that country they are all false coiners.---Oh Saturday, the 5th of September, the court being met on the edit de monies, rejected it entirely; *Nec debemus, nec possumus*, we neither ought nor can, concluded they with one voice. The gentlemen belonging to the mint were sent for; among whom one of the reformed religion, called Bizeul, spoke his sentiments very freely, for which he was highly commended; and M. le Premier president said; *Non in parabolis iste locutus est nobis*. It must be observed, that as soon as

crowns, for want of a denomination of a money more convenient for petty traffic, had imperceptibly raised all that was bought or sold to more than its real value.

THE interest of commerce was still more concerned in the news the king received from several parts of the kingdom, that those who had been employed to seek for mines, had discovered a great number of † gold and silver ones. This report was spread at court with so many appearances of probability, that every one representing to himself the direction of this new labour as a source of immense riches, there was not one who did not use his utmost endeavours to procure the grant of it. Monsieur Le Grand obtained the office of superintendant, and Béringhen that of comptroller general. This gave occasion for La Regnardiere, a buffoon whose

“ the people belonging to the coinage had entered the chamber, the
 “ first president said to them, Sit down and be covered, and you shall
 “ speak presently. On Tuesday the 8th, in the evening, M. de
 “ Sully went to see the first president, in order to prevail on him to
 “ persuade the court to pass the edicts; but in this he found him in-
 “ flexible: and as the president represented to him the injustice of it,
 “ M. de Sully answered, The king ought not to look upon that as
 “ unjust which suits his affairs.---On Tuesday the 15th of September,
 “ the king sent his letters patent to the court, to prolong the parlia-
 “ ment for eight days, during which time they were ordered to set
 “ about the registering of the edicts, two of which were in a manner
 “ revoked; and as to the others, it was hoped they would die of
 “ themselves.”

† Le Septennaire mentions the places where these mines of all sorts were discovered: “ In the Pyrennees mines of talc and copper,
 “ together with some of gold and silver; in the mountains of Foix,
 “ mines of jet and precious stones, and even carbuncles, though but
 “ few; in the lands of Gevaudan, and in the Cevennes, mines of
 “ lead and tin; in those of Carcassonne, mines of silver; in those of
 “ Auvergne, mines of iron; in the Lyonnois near the village Saint-
 “ Martin, of gold and silver; in Normandy, silver and very good tin;
 “ at Annonay in the Vivarais, mines of lead; in La Brie and Picardy,
 “ mines of marcasite of gold and silver. Some of these mines, but
 “ especially those of gold and silver, are very difficult and troublesome
 “ to work, and at the same time of so little profit, that M. De Thou
 “ had reason for dissuading them from meddling with them ever since
 “ that time.” liv. cxxix.

jeſts were equally fatirical and agreeable, to ſay, “ that they could not have made a fitter choice of a man for a direction of the mines, than one “ who was himſelf a compoſition of mines †” The improvement and working of ſilk, of which I ſhall have more occaſion to ſpeak in the following year, commenced in this, and an edict was publiſhed for the planting of mulberry trees.

AMONG all theſe different edicts, none made ſo much noiſe as that againſt duels ‡. His majeſty went ſo far as to make death the puniſhment of thoſe who diſobeyed; in which, I confeſs, he acted contrary to my advice. I have too plainly declared my thoughts of this pernicious and ſavage abuſe, to fear the accuſation of having endeavoured to tolerate it; but I foreſaw, that an exceſs of ſeverity in the means would be the principal obſtacle of the execution. When it becomes neceſſary to declare the will of the ſovereign to the ſubject, it is of the utmoſt importance to examine carefully, whether the thing to be forbidden is of ſuch a nature that the fear of death may prevent diſobedience; for otherwiſe thoſe extremities are, in my opinion, leſs efficacious than degradation or diſgrace, or even than a pretty high fine or forfeiture. If the practice of duelling be ſeriously attended to, it will be found to be of this nature; for it is commonly perſons of quality, and even of the greateſt diſtinction, who are guilty of it; for whom ſolicitations are ſo much the more ardent and ſucceſſful, as the puniſhment with which

† The jeſt lies in the word *mines*, which in French ſignifies grimace, and affectation.

‡ This edict, in which duelling is declared to be high treaſon or *leze majeſté*, was paſſed at Blois in the month of June, and is a very ſevere one: this is the edict which firſt gave the conſtables and marshals of France a power of prohibiting violent methods, and appointing the reparation of the injuries received. This the parliament reſtricted, in the regiſtring, to thoſe rencounters alone that concerned the point of honour, and excepted all other crimes as debts, aſſaults, &c. M. de Sully, in the courſe of theſe Memoirs, handles this affair of duelling at greater length.

they are threatened, is great and infamous : it is not therefore to be doubted, that many pardons will be granted, the example, and the hope of which, are sufficient to encourage others to infringe the law. It often happens, that those punishments are most regarded, for which a pardon dare not, nor cannot be implored.

BESIDES those embassies I have already mentioned at the beginning of this year, the king received a solemn deputation from the thirteen Swiss Cantons : forty-two deputies from that nation came to Paris to renew the alliance *, which had been the occasion of marechal Biron's journey to those Cantons. I was appointed, together with Sillery, De Vic, and Caumartin, to treat with them ; but, not being able, on account of my other employments, to attend this business constantly, I satisfied myself with getting exact informations from Sillery of all that passed at their meetings. The only difficulty I started, was concerning the three millions that were granted them, besides the forty thousand crowns to which their usual pension was raised : I could have wished that they had deducted certain sums paid on their account, during the campaign in Savoy, and on some other occasions : as for the rest, these gentlemen thought good cheer, and deep drinking with them, the most essential parts of their reception. The king presented them with gold chains and medals, and sent back the pope's chamberlain, who came to compliment him in the name of his holiness, loaded with presents : he gave his consent to the alliance which the republic of Venice made with the Grisons against Spain.

THE great armaments and other warlike preparations which that crown was making for the following year kept the crown of France in continual atten-

* See all the ceremonies of entries, audiences, and performances of oaths, which were observed on this occasion, in *le Septennaire*, ann. Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 471, &c.

tion to their motions, and were the cause that Henry, who held it for an incontestable truth, that it was by the military power alone a state could be rendered flourishing, not only rejected the proposal I made him to disband part of his troops, particularly to lessen the number of his guards by twelve or fifteen hundred men, but also that he took a resolution to make a new levy of six thousand Swiss; and it was with great difficulty that I prevailed upon him to defer this levy till the month of September. He was more solicitous than ever about the payment of his army, and I was obliged to the constable for having solicited with great earnestness the payment of my company of gendarmes. And at last he determined to take another journey to Calais, which was the most considerable of all his majesty made this year, except that into the provinces.

HENRY took his route through Verneuil † towards the latter end of the month of August, leaving his queen in the same condition she was the preceding year, that is, far advanced in her pregnancy, for she lay in of Madame her eldest daughter, in November ‡. He recommended to me with great earnestness to be assiduous about her, and endeavour to make her approve of his journey; as likewise to procure her every kind of diversion that might alleviate her concern during the first days of his absence. He never wrote to me without making inquiry about the state of her health, and the manner in which she passed her time: and it may be truly said, that he never omitted giving her every instance of respect and tenderness that was able to make her forget the uneasiness she received from his amours. It was, about this time that he legitimated the son he had by

† Verneuil, near Senlis, a castle which he had given to his mistress, mademoiselle d'Entragues, and from which she took the title of marchioness of Verneuil.

‡ Elizabeth, daughter of France, was born on the 22^d of November, 1602, and married to Philip IV. of Spain in 1615.

the marchionefs de Verneuil §, which was among the number of thofe things that gave the greateft offence to the queen. Henry was detained a little time at Monceaux by a fever, occafioned by a cold he got in walking late in the evening to fee his mafons work; the remedy he made ufe of was, to go to the chace next day. As foon as I had acquainted him at Boulogne, that every thing relating to the queen was in fuch a fituation as he wifhed, he wrote to me to come to him in this city, with the prefident Jeannin, whom he expected to have occafion for.

It was from this place that his majefty was a witnefs of part of the event and exploits of the campaign between the Spaniards and the Flemifh, without having any inclination to difarm, whatever affurance might be given him by the king of Spain, till he had feen what turn affairs would take in the Low Countries; where, however, they ftill continued to be on the fame footing as before. The fiege of Oftend was not carried on with fo much vigour by the befiegers, as it was fufained by the befieged. Prince Maurice of Naffau, after continuing fome time at Berg, uncertain of what he fhould next undertake, went on the 19th of September to inveft Grave, and entrenched himfelf, not doubting but he fhould receive fome oppofition in this enterprize. Accordingly the admiral of Arragon, in the abfence of the arch-duke Albert, who was detained by ficknefs at Bruffels, endeavoured, by means of a bridge which he threw over the river, to beat up one of the quarters of the befiegers, and to fuccour the place; but he did not fucceed; and he had even the mortification to find, that many of his Spanifh companies mutinied, and, after feparating from the main body of his army, poffeffed themfelves of Hoeftate and Dele. He took fuch wrong methods

§ Henry de Bourbon, duke de Verneuil: he was at firft bifhop of Metz, and afterwards married Charlotte Seguier.

to engage them to return, that they came to a resolution to apply to the prince of Orange, who gave them the city of Grave for a retreat, which he had taken, and which these Spaniards restored to him, when the ravages and violences they committed upon the territories of the arch-duke obliged him to treat with them, and to except of very strange conditions from them †.

THE council of Spain, through a desire of carrying on the war, resolved to make new and more vigorous efforts. A squadron of twelve large gallees and pinnaces, fitted out at Sicily with great care, manned with a sufficient number of soldiers, and plentifully supplied with all necessary provisions, sailed for this purpose out of the Spanish ports, to cruise in the channel: the command of this squadron was given to Frederic Spinola, cousin to the marquis of that name, who conducted the siege of Ostend; he flattered himself that he should become master of the sea, and complete the ruin of the Flemish. But this proved a vain hope; of twelve vessels, two of them perished ere he had quitted the coasts of Spain; the ten others, meeting with a Dutch squadron, were almost all either taken or sunk; the last that escaped, and in which Spinola himself was, happened to run a-ground within view of Calais, but so disabled by the cannon, and in such a shattered condition, that the slaves who rowed it having revolted and fled, the general found himself obliged to land alone, and with great labour, at Calais, from whence he went to Brussels, to complain to the arch-duke of the sea and the winds.

SPAIN made herself amends for these misfortunes by the acquisition of the marquisate of Final, which was taken by the count of Fuentes. There was not the least shadow of a pretence for this usurpation; this little state, which is on the coast of Ge-

† See in the historians the particulars of all these expeditions, which are here only briefly related.

neva, being incontestably a fief of the empire; nevertheless, when the emperor, to preserve, in appearance at least, the right of the empire, offered to send commissioners to discuss this affair upon the spot, his offer was rejected with contempt by the king of Spain *. He used the same violence with regard to Piombino, a fief likewise of the empire, which afforded him a convenient port; and had likewise the same views upon Embden, when he undertook to support against the inhabitants † the lord of this city, although he was avowedly a protestant; but in this he did not succeed; the citizens of Embden maintained their liberty against both the one and the other, and joined themselves to the states.

THE duke of Savoy succeeded no better in the attempt he ordered d'Albigny ‡ to make upon the city of Geneva. This expedition ended unfortunately for the assailants, although they had opened themselves a passage into the city, by applying soldiers to the walls, and above two hundred of them had already entered, after cutting the centinel's throat, whom they had forced to tell them the watch-word, which served them to get clear of the patrolle till they had found their way through the first guard; and now they thought themselves secure of the city: but the citizens, deriving new strength and courage from the extremity they beheld themselves in, charged them with so much fury, that they drove them back, and forced them to abandon their city. Some of these Savoyards threw themselves off the walls, to escape the rage of the enemies; many others were taken, and hanged without mercy. Spain entered very deep into that black design, which was follow-

* The marquis of Final, by his importunities, obtained a pension during his life.

† He was called count d'Ost Frise. See the origin of these troubles in Chron. Sept. an. 1598, and their conclusion, an. 1602.

‡ Charles de Simiane d'Albigny, De Thou, liv. 129, Septem. an. 1602. Matthieu, *ibid.* 544.

ed by a peace between the duke of Savoy and the republic of Geneva †.

THE revolt of Battori from the emperor continued the war in Hungary: the duke of Nevers † went thither, in expectation of succeeding

† The treaty was concluded the following year at Ramilly, through the mediation of the Swiss Cantons. Siri, *ibid.* p. 200.

† Charles de Gonzague, duke of Mantua, de Nevers, de Cleves, and de Rhétel, who died in 1637. See howls Chronol. Septen. relates an action, of which M. de Sully speaks with a kind of contempt. "The duke of Nevers thinking by his own example to recal the courage of those who withdrew from danger, and to induce others to come on, went directly to the breach, trampling over the dead, the wounded, and even those that were flying; but he received there the shot of a large arquebuse that was fired amidst a great number of other arms, from one of the angles of the said breach, that struck him just on the left side, penetrating into the breast, near the heart and lungs; but it was conducted so providentially, that, neither breaking or hurting any nobler part, it gained him as much lasting honour, as it shewed a great miracle in his preservation." Let us likewise hear this writer concerning the death of the duke de Mercœur: "Having an inclination, says he, to return to France, in order to prepare for some greater expedition against the Turks, he went from Vienna to Prague, where he took his leave of the emperor: but while he was at Noremberg he was seized with a pestilential spotted fever. No sooner was the host brought him, than the moment he saw it, though in a languishing and weak state of body, yet of a vigorous and sound mind, *bedding more faith than life* (the device of the duke of Mercœur being *plus fidei quam vite*) he threw himself out of bed, and falling prostrate upon the ground, adored his Saviour, uttering the most devout ejaculations." The whole of what this author adds concerning the acts, sayings, and sentiments, of the duke of Mercœur, till the moment of his death, is quite affecting, and serves sufficiently to form a high eulogium of his character: "His funeral oration was pronounced in the church of Notre Dame at Paris, by monsieur François de Selles, coadjutor and bishop elect of Geneva. The Turks imagined that the affairs of the Christians did not prosper but where-ever this prince was:" After the eulogium of his family, the historian passes to that of his virtues: "He was one of the most temperate men in the world as to diet, so as only to eat when obliged through necessity, and he drank almost nothing but water: he was no less abstemious in other temporal enjoyments; humble in the possession of all those high honours and great favours heaven had heaped upon him, and never abusing any of them; for he was equally accessible to rich and poor; moderate in his recreations; he had a great contempt for idle assemblies: so that what time remained for amusement he employed in reading useful books. He had an exact skill in practical mathematics; he also was eloquent, and would gracefully deliver his
"elegant

ing to the post and reputation of the duke of Mercœur; but laying siege to Buda after Pest had been taken by the Christians, the Turks, who on their side had, at length, won Alba regalis, hastened thither with such numerous forces, that they forced them to raise the siege; and the duke of Nevers retreated very much wounded. An action of George Basse, the imperial general, has been very much and very deservedly applauded. The rebels in Battori's party having seized Bistritz, Basse retook this place by a capitulation, which during his absence was violated by some German soldiers. As soon as he was apprised of it at his return, he hanged up all those soldiers, and out of his own money satisfied the inhabitants for the damage they had received. The rebels were so greatly affected with the generosity of this action, that they all submitted to the emperor, and demanded no other security than the general's word.



B . O O K XIV.

THE city of Metz had been, for some time, shaken with those intestine divisions, which broke out in the beginning of this year. The duke of Epemon, who was governor of it, and of the whole

“elegant sentiments not only in French, but likewise in the German, Italian, and Spanish tongues, in which he was more than moderately skilled; and yet he never employed his elocution but to enforce things that were useful, praise-worthy, and virtuous.” The description which this writer afterwards gives, with regard to his performing the duties of religion and those of his station, his piety, his prudence, and his other virtues, form altogether a picture which may serve for a model to the great of our times, if we except that an immoderate ambition and mistaken zeal for religion made him undertake a conspiracy against his sovereign. Matthieu, *ibid.* 456, speaks of him in the same manner.

country

country of Meffin, had placed Sobole † and his brother as his lieutenants there; who made such an ill use of their authority, that they were soon hated by the whole body of the citizens. This hatred was strengthened by the difference of their religions; and there was such a general outcry amongst the citizens and country people, against the lieutenants, that d'Epéron was obliged to go himself to Metz, to hear the complaints of both parties, and to endeavour to conciliate them to each other. Sobole complained, that the city refused to furnish the troops with victual, and the city, in their turn, threw the whole blame upon Sobole. Some disputes had also arisen concerning a certain Provençal prisoner at Vitry; which, through rancour and a desire of revenge, occasioned several other matters less considerable; and these heats had already proceeded so far as to make a revolt be apprehended.

THE duke of Epéron was soon convinced that the two Soboles * had not justice on their side, at least, with regard to the first complaint, which was indeed the chief, and by them made the occasion of a quarrel, with no other view, than to afford them a pretence for opening the magazines of the citadel, which was never permitted but in case of a war or a siege, and this to make themselves masters of them. D'Epéron would have been glad to have pacified matters, without being obliged to deprive his two creatures of their posts; for he well knew, that this was an exertion of authority, which he would have some difficulty to support himself in, the two brothers being at the head of a party, strong enough to oppose the governor as well as the citizens.

THINGS were in this state, when the king received

† Raymond de Comminges, lord of Sobole, and his brother, gentlemen of Gascony.

* Sobole accused the city of Metz of holding intelligence with the count of Mansfield, in order to surrender itself to the king of Spain. This accusation appeared to be false. *Vie du duc d'Epéron*, p. 217.

advice what was doing at Metz : he sent me notice that he would come to the arsenal to confer with me, and desired that I would have a supper prepared for him, and six other persons whom he should bring with him. He made me follow him alone into the great store-houses of cannons and arms, and, beginning, as usual, to discourse about the situation of affairs within the kingdom, with respect to the malecontents, he told me the news he had just received from Metz. Henry, without any hesitation, resolved upon taking a journey thither, upon his reflecting that if Metz, a city so very lately dismembered from the empire, should unfortunately happen, in the present conjuncture, to separate itself from France, it would be a difficult matter to recover it. Several other political motives made this journey absolutely necessary, besides that of taking from the duke of Epernon a citadel, which he might make use of to very bad purposes, and a considerable extent of country, wherein, under the reign of Henry the third, he had behaved more like a sovereign prince than a governor ; and, upon a supposition that he should one day carry his great designs into execution, there would be a necessity for having, in this country, so important by its situation, a governor from whom he could promise himself more assistance than he could expect from d'Epernon. It was probable at least that some favourable opportunity would offer to join Lorraine to France, and in that case it imported his majesty highly to go himself in person, and procure a perfect knowledge of this state, and give the government of that province, which was upon its confines, to a man on whom he could depend. This journey likewise would be of use to him, affording him an opportunity of becoming acquainted with some of the princes of Germany, and of sounding their inclinations with respect to the house of Austria, to know if he might expect any assistance from them in an advantageous conjuncture,

junction, and even to attach them to himself, by reconciling them to one another, for he was not ignorant that many differences subsisted amongst them.

It was agreed between us, that his majesty should set out without loss of time, to the end that, by appearing at Metz with his whole court (for it was resolved that the queen should accompany him) at a time when the two factions not having yet proceeded so far in their insolence, as to embrace a party contrary to the king, both the one and the other should think of nothing but of justifying their conduct, and submitting to his determination. The king would not even stay till the coats of his guards, for about this time they were to be all new cloathed, were ready; but leaving me at Paris to correspond with him, ordered only Villeroi among his secretaries of state to attend him, and left Paris the latter end of February, notwithstanding the rigour of the season, which made the roads very bad for the ladies to travel, and took his rout by La-Ferté-sur-Jouarre, Dorman-sur-Marne, Épernal, Châlons-sur-Marne, and Clermont: the court stopped at Verdun, and four or five days after arrived at Metz by Frezne-en-Verdunois.

HENRY's arrival put an end to all disputes, and nothing was talked of but submission and obedience: not but Sobole, who was sensible this affair would be terminated by his expulsion, had ambition and resolution enough to maintain himself in the citadel in spite of his majesty, and disclosed his thoughts to his particular friends; but the most prudent amongst them represented to him, that, if he engaged in such a design, he would be irretrievably ruined; so that, submitting to the arret for his banishment, he gave up the citadel without making any conditions, and quitted Metz and the whole country of Messin. The king appointed Montigny † to be his lieutenant in

† Francis de la Grange, lord of Montigny, Sery, &c. was the chief steward of the household to Henry III. governor of Berry, Blois, &c. knight

this province, in the room of Sobole, and d'Arquien his brother to act as lieutenant for the governor in the city and castle of Metz. Montigny, for this new post, quitted his government of Paris, the salary of which, however, he received this year. It was thought that d'Epéron was far from being satisfied with all these changes, as may be easily imagined, the two lieutenants being under no obligation to him for their preferment; but he could have nothing to say, he himself, through necessity, being the first to require the banishment of the two Soboles, so that every thing seemed to be done with his consent.

I HAVE taken this detail from the letters his majesty honoured me with during his stay at Metz, in which he informed me succinctly of all the incidents, and dwelt still longer upon the manner in which he was received at Metz, and upon the city itself, which he said was three times larger than Orleans, and finely situated, but that the castle was not worth any thing; he likewise told me, that he wished for my presence in that country, that he might send me to visit the frontier, and that before six days, he should put every thing in such good order, as to be able to leave Metz. In effect, the king accomplished it in much less time, and was only detained there by an indisposition, that obliged him to take some medicines, after which he found himself quite well, although it was followed by a fit of the ague, which he thought had been occasioned by a cold. The duchess of Bar, sister to his majesty, came to Metz on the sixteenth of March, and the duke de Deux-Ponts, with his wife and children, arrived three days

knight of the order of the Holy Ghost, camp-master-general of the light-horse, governor of Paris, afterwards of Metz, the Pays Messia, Toul, and Verdun, at last, marechal of France, and died in 1617. His brother was Antony, lord of Arquien, commandant of the citadel of Metz, governor of Calais, Sancerre, &c. He is miscalled by some, John-James d'Arquien; and d'Arcy, by father Daniel. John-James d'Arquien was nephew of marechal de Montigny.

after-

afterwards. The remainder of the time his majesty staid in this province was employed in concluding a marriage between mademoiselle de Rohan, and the young duke de * Deux-Ponts; in composing a difference between the cardinal of Lorraine, and the prince of Brandenbourg †, concerning the bishoprick of Strasbourg, which was accomplished by dividing the revenue of this bishoprick equally between them, without having any regard to their titles and pretensions; in restoring tranquility to that city, and in being serviceable to all the princes who required his interposition in any of their affairs. The name of Henry became so revered in this country, that several sovereign princes of Germany took a resolution to come thither and pay their respects to him, to offer him their service, and demand his protection; which, however, they could only do afterwards, and by ambassadors, the necessary preparations for their equipages taking up more time than his majesty had determined to stay at Metz. There were only the cardinal of Lorraine, the duke de Deux-Ponts, the marquis of Brandenburg and Pomerania, the landgrave of Hesse, and three or four others whose dominions lay nearest to the Rhine, that came thither in person.

THE Jesuits, who ever since their banishment, had been using their utmost endeavours to procure their re-establishment in France, appeared no less solicitous to make their court to the king; for this purpose, they made use of the good offices of the fathers of their order at Verdun ‡, supported by La-Varenne,

* John II. duke of Deux-Ponts, of a branch of the house of Bavaria, married Catherine the daughter of Henry duke of Rohan.

† John Manderſcheidt, the catholic bishop of Strasbourg, dying in 1594, cardinal Charles of Lorraine obtained this bishopric of the pope; and the protestants, on their part, got John-George, brother of the elector of Brandenbourg, elected; whence a war arose, which continued till this year. See the historians, Bassompierre's Memoirs, vol. I. Septennaire, &c.

‡ The fathers Ignatius Armand, provincial, Châteiller, Brossard, and La-Tour, introduced by La-Varenne, came on Wednesday in Pas-

who declared himself their protector, that they might one day become his, and repay his zeal by the advancement of his children, for whom he already thirsted after the most eminent dignities in the church. D'Ossat, though not in France, laboured with equal ardour and success in their favour. The ambitious desire of being arbitrator of the affairs of Europe had often made this man undertake to treat of matters quite foreign to his commission: the obstacles he raised at Rome to the marriage of the princess Catharine, the king's sister, is one proof of it, and his solicitations for the Jesuits another; for the re-establishment of this society was regarded by him, Villeroi, Jeannin, and other creatures of the Roman court in France, to be the most essential part of that system of politics, which they endeavoured to have preferred there, to that pursued by the council.

D'OSSAT, by printing his letters, which † prove

tion week to throw themselves at the king's feet, and to implore his favour for their re-admission into France. Henry IV. would not suffer the provincial, who spoke for the whole order, to address him kneeling. When he had done, the king answered them, that, for his part, he was not an ill-wisher to the Jesuits: he required them to give him, in writing, what they had been saying to him, and kept them the whole day with him. They returned on Easter Monday, and the king promised to recall them, and even ordered the father provincial to come to him at Paris, and bring father Cotton with him. "I will have you with me, added he, for I think you useful to the public, and to my kingdom." He dismissed them, after having embraced them all four. De Thou, b. cxxix. Chronol. Sept. ann. 1603. MSS. Biblioth. Royale, vol. 9129, &c. P. Matthieu, vol. II. b. iii. p. 556.

† To support these accusations brought against cardinal d'Ossat, the author quotes fourteen letters, taken out of the collection printed in 1627, eight of them to the king, and six to M. de Villeroi; and he principally fixes on two of the six last mentioned, of which he has given an abstract. There are some errors in these quotations, which may be placed to the printer's account; but truth compels us to acknowledge, that there are others of more moment than mere faults of the impression, which may be laid to the charge of the pretended author of the memorial from Rome; and that though the abstract of these letters be conformable to the words of the text, yet it may be said to be not more exact on that account, since one cannot help taking notice of the visible attempt to suppress those explanations and expédients which soften, and even sometimes totally destroy the bad constructions

the truth of my assertions concerning him, seems not to be solicitous about concealing his true sentiments

frustrations which it has been endeavoured to put on them. I apprehend it will be necessary here to make some short observations on each of those letters, as well to stand in the place of a disquisition, more satirical than historical, which I thought it incumbent on me to suppress, as to do justice where it is due, and to make known the real sentiments of a man, esteemed amongst us as a great negotiator, and a very able politician.

The first of the eight letters to the king (though the author reckons only seven of them) is dated the 19th of February, 1600. It only contains an account given by the cardinal d'Osât to his majesty, of some complaints made by the pope, by reason of the king's having created M. de la Tremouille, who was a protestant, and duke, and a peer of France, and of his intending to make him admiral afterwards, as he had been informed. D'Osât does not, in this letter, say any thing as being his own sentiment, and even takes some pains to justify Henry IV. In the second letter of the 25th of April, it is again the pope who insists on the publication of the council of Trent; and the re-admission of the Jesuits into France, and who, at the same time, complains of some abuses in the Gallican church to which the cardinal makes no other answer, but that his majesty sincerely labours to give his holiness all possible satisfaction. The third of the 22d of May, the fourth of the 17th of June, and the fifth of the 30th of the same month, turn on the affair of the dispensation for the duke and duchess of Bar: he therein acquaints the king with the difficulties that affair meets with at Rome; he adds his own opinion, which, in truth, is not in favour of his majesty's intentions, but nevertheless does not prevent his being ready to second them, by all the reasons he can think of, and his shewing himself, above all things, exceeding sensible of the shame that would redound to the house of France, if, as the duke of Bar sometimes gave out, it should be determined by the court of Lorraine to send the princess back to France. The sixth letter of the 26th of November, 1601, contains nothing for which this prelate can be blamed, but his discovering, perhaps with too much complaisance, to Henry IV. the design his holiness had formed, on the death of queen Elizabeth, to transfer the crown of England to the house of Parma. In the seventh of the 22d of December in the same year, d'Osât also, possibly with too much zeal, sustains certain rights of the pope, in the matter of elections. His sentiments, which must appear to be singular in France, oblige me set forth some of the terms he employs. "If the pope, says he, have encroached on the liberties of the church, the kings, sire, (I say this only to yourself, and even in doing so, shew the great opinion I have of your generosity and goodness) have made no less attempts on their kingdoms, and even their churches: and if things should be reduced to their original state, as is attempted to be done on your side in the pope's case in regard to the elections, the kings would be greater sufferers by it than the popes."

The first of these six letters, directed to M. de Villeroi, is dated the

from the public ; but, if he is inexcusable for having almost always observed a conduct quite opposite to

23d of July 1621. Our author's exceptions to this letter are because d'Ossat therein maintains, with some warmth, that the protestants ought not to be suffered in the Italian cities, ceded to the king by the treaty of Savoy. The second of the 23d of September, is misdated. If the author meant to speak of that of the 3d of September, he is so much more in the wrong, because the Spaniards are handled very roughly in that letter : but he probably speaks of that of the 17th of that month, for there the pretended reformed religion, and the cities of Savoy, are again brought in question. The third of the 16th of December 1602, on the affairs of the duchess of Bar, contains this circumstance in favour of d'Ossat, that he therein declares the suspicion he had conceived, that the duke of Lorraine might have some evil intentions against her. The same thing may be said of the fourth of the 30th of December, in which his eminence seems persuaded, that Spain appears to enter so strongly with the pope, into the affair of the succession to the crown of England, for no other reason than to cover her own designs with the cloak of religion. As to the fifth of the 7th, or rather the 27th of January 1603, which is one of the two the author applies himself to censure particularly, because it points out, though but in general terms, the abuses in the government of France ; he is doubly to blame for concealing that d'Ossat adds, at the same time, that the wisdom of Henry IV. had already redressed them in part ; since those words contain the real meaning, and an explanation of the cardinal's sentiments, and, at the same time, a commendation which might be made to rebound from thence on M. de Rosny. The sixth of the 10th of February, is produced as being the most vehement ; and, in truth, in this letter he expresses himself with more freedom, on the evils with which the kingdom is internally afflicted, on the injustice of the war carried on against Spain in Flanders, and on the advantage of uniting the two kingdoms of France and Spain in interest and politics, by the marriage of the dauphin and infanta ; yet, when all these circumstances are drawn together, and placed in the most unfavourable point of light, as the author has done, he should, in justice, have remarked that d'Ossat, in this letter, candidly states every side of the question ; that he says, he is convinced the Spaniards discover a desire for an alliance with us, only to gain time to do their own business, and to amuse the king with a treaty, to surprise him the better afterwards ; that he inveigas, perhaps, with equal force, against the rapaciousness, ambition, arrogance, and perfidy of the council of Madrid. Certainly, it is not the proper time to shew this prelate's opinion, whilst he is thus balancing the reasons on each side ; but when he recapitulates what he has been saying in this letter, which is very long, he at last speaks in his own name : and this is the manner in which he delivers his sentiments. " Upon the whole, I apprehend that his holiness ought to be undeceived, in the wrong notions he has formed of us ; that we ought, sincerely and faithfully, to observe the peace made and sworn with the king of Spain and the archdukes on our side ; provided they also keep it

on

that which the gratitude he owed to his prince and benefactor ought to have suggested to him, he deserves still greater reproaches for having endeavoured both in his discourse and in his writings, to give a bad impression of the king and his ministers. When removed from the center of business, all the informations he could obtain must be through the canal of wretches, to whom a man of sense and judgment ought to be cautious of giving credit. It is not difficult to perceive that this passage tends partly to justify myself against the censures of d'Ossat, this cardinal having about that time wrote a letter to Ville-roi, in which he did not scruple to attribute mar-

"on theirs, as they have by the pope offered to do; that this peace should still be strengthened by all sorts of honourable and advantageous obligations; yet that we should not place more confidence in it than reason warrants, nor abate our vigilance and precaution; but that we should, in all other respects, leave the king of Spain and the archdukes on the footing they now stand with other nations, not from any evil design or intention against them, but for our own preservation; that we should not furnish an opportunity to those who have shewn an inclination to turn all their forces against France; and that whilst the rest are at war with one another, we should employ the peace and quiet God has blessed us with, in doing what is right, improving what is good in the kingdom, and extirpating what is bad."

This disquisition confirms me in the opinion I have given above, of the sentiments of the cardinal d'Ossat; for what he says of the Spaniards, besides the letters already quoted, see p. 51, 504, 540, 692, 705, &c. on the publication of the council of Trent, 217, 256, 354, 396, 400, 433, 466, 613, 615, and many other places; on the Jesuits, 69, 302, 303, 287, 309, 351, & seq. 613, & seq.

Had the cardinal d'Ossat even meant what his adversary pretends he did, it could not be at all consistent with the character of so prudent and cautious a negotiator, as he is allowed to have been, to make an open discovery of such blameable sentiments: his prudence appears from his letters amongst other occasions, where, unquestionably against his own advice, he defends the edict of Nantz before the pope, p. 391, 393, 400, where he approves of the imprisonment of marshal de Biron, 705, and where he takes the part of queen Elizabeth, 243.

In short, nothing can be a stronger proof that this cardinal had no personal dislike to M. de Rosny, as it has been insinuated, than his having never once mentioned his name with ill-nature. He is spoken of, p. 440, 377, 723: this last is the only place where he complains of him, though with all possible moderation, on account of his having suspended the payment of his allowance.

chal Biron's rebellion, and the discontent of the other French lords, to the very little satisfaction they received from Henry, and the oppression the people groaned under through the tyranny of his counsellors: and that he might not do things by halves, this able man, who valued himself upon his nice discernment in affairs of state, presumed, by desiring Villeroi to shew his letter to the king, by advising his majesty to remit his confidence and his authority into other hands. Possibly if this proceeding of d'Ossat's was thoroughly examined, it would be found to have more artifice than mistake in it; for it is not likely that a man, who received such exact informations from Villeroi of every thing that happened, could be ignorant that what he represented as a general conspiracy of all the states in the kingdom, was, in reality, only a faction composed of a few persons, whose heads were turned by ambition, and the licentiousness of the late times; and that all the rest of the French nobility placed their glory and their happiness in their firm attachment to their prince; that the clergy, on their side, praised him no less, and, in effect, had no less reason to praise him, having but lately received a very considerable gratuity from him; and lastly; that the people, besides the suppression of the penny in the shilling, had, by his majesty, been farther relieved by an abatement of two millions in the land-tax.

I WAS not acquainted with any of d'Ossat's malicious proceeding, nor of his personal complaints against me, for not paying his pension exactly. Villeroi undertook to recommend the speedy payment of it to me, and acquitted himself of this commission, by exalting, as usual, the great abilities and services of this cardinal. Some days afterwards, I was accosted by a banker, who made me a proposal to discharge certain pensions, given by his majesty to persons at Rome, among others d'Ossat's, which he did with the same unpolite freedom that the cabal of my ene-
mies

mies affected to use me with. There are some offices in themselves of such dignity, as to draw respect and consideration upon the persons who possess them. I was not sorry that the banker was made sensible of this truth, and I sent him away coldly enough. D'Ossat found himself obliged to write to me four months afterwards, and I received his letter at the same time that one was brought me from my brother, who was ambassador at that court. D'Ossat expressed himself in so insolent a manner in this letter, that it certainly deserved no better an answer than I had given the banker. However, being of opinion that I ought not to regard it, I was going to make out a draught for his payment, when I received an incontestible proof of the injurious language he publicly used against me : that instant, I confess, I withdrew the warrant, which was a very exact one, and substituted another in its room of a more doubtful payment, and from that time resolved to expediate no more, but by the king's express command. I wrote to Villeroi at Metz, and acquainted him with this resolution, and in the postscript of my letter, gave him a detail of the speeches and letters of d'Ossat, in which I was concerned, and, in the height of my just indignation, gave this cardinal the epithets of ingrateful and imprudent ; which, if what I had heard of him was true, he deserved ; if false, I gave Villeroi to understand, that I would pay a proper regard to his interposition in favour of d'Ossat. He was still more affected by my threat to acquaint the king with the insolence of his agent, and conjured me to be pacified : I consented, and all the revenge I took upon d'Ossat, was to render his intrigues at Rome ineffectual : those in favour of the Jesuits were continued only during this year, for the society returned to France in the following year.

I SHALL resume this article in a proper place, and shall have occasion once more to introduce d'Ossat, on account of a memorial which was addressed to me from Rome against him. At present, what re-

mains to be said of him regards the co-adjutorship of Baïeux, and the abbey of Coulon, if the affair was worth a long detail ; but as it is not, I shall content myself with only informing the reader that d'Offat procured himself to be made co-adjutor of Baïeux, and treated with the Maintenons for his abbey of Coulon, by an agreement not very advantageous for them. His majesty gave me this abbey, after performing the promise he made to the Maintenons, that they should lose nothing by it, since they obtained an equivalent upon the bishopric of Evreux. Villeroi earnestly solicited his majesty for d'Offat, and endeavoured to engage my interest for his friend ; Maintenon, on the contrary, was highly dissatisfied that this favour was granted him.

THE pope's nuncio made me another complaint in the king's absence, upon the journey his majesty had undertaken. That his holiness interested himself in it, was occasioned by the Spaniards having joined to the notion they formed to themselves of the occasion of this voyage, that which was conceived of his majesty's armaments and treasures, which common fame had greatly increased, and infected even the holy father with their apprehensions. Henry, whom I informed of the nuncio's fears, ordered me to re-assure him, without troubling myself to draw either Spain or Savoy out of their opinion.

His majesty and I treated by letters of many different affairs, and amongst others that of Flanders. It was computed that, the last of February this year, the Spaniards had lost eighteen thousand men, and fired above two hundred and fifty thousand volleys of cannon before Ostend ; nevertheless the siege was but very little advanced, and, in the month of April, the besiegers attempting to make a general assault, they were repulsed with great loss. From this, the archduke was convinced that, notwithstanding all his efforts, it would be time only, and a total want of men and ammunition of every kind, that would deliver the place into his power. Nassau, on his
side,

side, after the reduction of Grave, laid siege to Rhinberg, and from thence went to invest Boisseduc, not considering that this enterprize exceeded his strength, it being impossible, as I have already observed, to take Boisseduc with so small a number of troops. Accordingly he was on the point of losing both his army and his reputation there; but, in revenge, he had the satisfaction to drive the Spaniards out of the castle of Vaetendonck, where they were, in a manner, already masters. The garrison of this place, too weak to resist them, and no longer thinking of any thing but retreating, had abandoned the city and the castle to their discretion, when they were joined by some Dutch troops, who passed by that place in their march to the army of prince Maurice, and altogether attacked the Spaniards, and dislodged them from the castle.

It may be easily imagined, that the United Provinces could not carry on this war without being at a great expence both of men and money, to which it was absolutely necessary that France should continue to contribute. The siege of Ostend alone had cost them one hundred thousand vollies of cannon, and seven thousand men. His majesty, for the interest of both powers, kept Buzenval * in those provinces, who was then upon the point of returning to France; and the agent sent by the states to the king was named Aërsens †; this agent represented to me, that his countrymen would be soon in no condition to keep the field, unless his majesty would permit

* Paul Choart de Buzenval.

† Francis Aërsens, resident, and afterwards ambassador from the states of Holland at the court of France. The memoirs of that time represent him as a man of a subtle, artful, and even dangerous turn of mind. Cardinal Richelieu speaks of him, Oxenstiern, chancellor of Sweden, and Guiscard, chancellor of Montferrat, as the three only politicians he had ever known in Europe. "It was the received opinion of that time, says Amelot de la Houssaye, that Henry IV. had an amour with Aërsens' wife, and that the husband was content with it, by reason of the profit he reaped from it: this amour laid the foundation of his fortune. He left 100,000 livres a year to his son, who was called Van Sommerdyk."

them to recruit the French companies that were in their service with Frenchmen. The king sent me an answer from Chalons-sur-Marne to this request, which I had communicated to him, and told me that he consented to it, but, to avoid an open rupture with Spain, upon these conditions, that it should be Aërsens himself that should raise the recruits, and not the officers, who would do it too publicly, having already acted in such a manner, as to draw upon him some reproaches from the king of Spain: that the recruits should be raised with the utmost expedition and the utmost secrecy; and that the soldiers who listed, the number of which he desired to know, should file off, without any noise, to the place where they were to embark, marching six in a company at most, with no other arms than their swords, and no more money than was necessary to answer their expences till they got there; that they should take shipping rather at Dieppe than Calais, this last city being too much crouded with foreigners; and that notice should be sent to Chastes, who was governor of it, and vice-admiral de Vic, whose concurrence was necessary to the design, and for whom he sent me a letter without a seal. Some alterations, however, were made in these orders; Aërsens could not levy the men alone; and it being my opinion, that I ought not to meddle in it, the officers raised the recruits, but did it with all possible secrecy. His majesty thought it would not be amiss to send the garrison he had forced to leave Metz to Flanders; and, for fear that they should list with the arch-duke, cast his eyes upon my cousin Bethune to conduct them. As for the pension for which Aërsens strongly importuned me, the king deferred taking a resolution about it till his return.

DURING the stay his majesty made at Metz, the duke of Bouillon brought his affair likewise upon the carpet; he had retired to Germany to the elector Palatine,

Palatine, to whom he was allied by the electress: he prevailed upon this elector to undertake his justification to Henry, or to deceive him again by a letter, which his majesty sent me immediately to have my opinion of it †. The purport of this letter, in which the elector Palatine very unseasonably affected to treat with the king of France as with an equal, was to represent to him the great affliction it gave the duke of Bouillon to have his fidelity suspected by the king; and to assure him, that he himself was convinced of his innocence, by proofs which he thought unanswerable. The king had sent for Bouillon to come to him and clear up his conduct, and afterward gave him notice by La-Tremouille that he should at least stop at Sedan, but Bouillon had done neither the one nor the other; the Palatine therefore, to excuse the duke, alledged, that with regard to the first complaint, the quality of his accusers made it imprudent for the duke to go and abandon himself to them; and to the second he said, that the gentleman who brought his majesty's letter had found Bouillon at Geneva, from whence he had a sincere intention to go and expect his majesty at Sedan; but that thinking it necessary to take his route through Germany, that he might avoid the countries in dependence upon Spain and Lorrain, and also to pay his respects to the elector and electress, his kinswoman, whom he had not yet seen, it was owing to this tedious journey that he had missed the opportunity of receiving his majesty at Sedan. The letter concluded with repeated assurances of the duke's attachment to his majesty, for the sincerity of which the elector brought the connexion there was between them as a proof.

HENRY answered the elector's letter with more politeness than he had reason to expect, and promised, as he had always done, to restore the duke of

† History of Henry duke of Bouillon, book v.

Bouillon to his friendship and esteem, but upon conditions which Bouillon knew himself to be too guilty to accept. In effect, at the very time that he was making these new protestations, his majesty received, while at Metz, advice from Heidelberg, which he communicated to me, that a man, named Du-Plessis-Bellay, brother to the governor of the young Châtillon, had been sent by the duke of Tremouille to the duke of Bouillon with dispatches, in which his majesty was nearly concerned; that this courier, who was to set out from Longjumeau, had orders to pass through Sedan without making himself known, not even to Du-Maurier; and at his return, he was again to pass through Sedan, and afterwards Paris, with the answer to Tremouille's dispatches, whom he was to meet at Comblat. His majesty would not have entered into so circumstantial an account of this affair, but that he wished (which however was not practicable) that I, in concert with Rapin, could arrest this courier, not before his arrival at Paris, but in the road from Paris to Thouars, after he should have received letters in that city, which would fully discover the nature of his commission.

His majesty had certainly no occasion for farther proofs of the duke of Bouillon's guilt. I may venture to affirm, without any danger of judging too rashly, that the submission which appeared in that step he had lately prevailed upon the elector to make in his favour, was only dissembled with a view to two things; the first was, to inspire the king with a security in regard to his person, and the second, to continue to draw from him those sums which for a long time he had regularly received for the support of his fortresses. This demand he renewed by Saint-Germain, with whom Henry was highly displeased. His majesty recommended it earnestly to me, to have no regard to the instances that were made me from Bouillon, but at the same time to give him no reason to suspect that I had any knowledge of what he had just related
to

to me. These orders were indeed unnecessary, after the discoveries I had lately made of the new discontent which Bouillon and Tremouille had excited in the provinces amongst the protestants, and from the result of the conversation I had with Henry at the arsenal, before his departure for Metz, of which I have only mentioned what related to this journey.

To proceed, after having long considered the cast of the cabal, which struck a mortal blow to the heart of Henry, I found means at last to set him at peace, by shewing him, that however formidable might be its present appearance, it would, after some ineffectual struggles, fall into nothing. Whatever notions may be formed of the levity and inconsiderateness of those whom we are pleased to term the vulgar, I have always found, that though they may fix upon some particular aims, and follow them not only with rashness but rapture, yet these aims are always to a certain degree general, and directed to some common interest; but that any private one's ends, such as proceed from the anger or wishes of a particular man, or of a small number, are never long or much regarded. I will venture to say farther, that of general interests the voice of the people will give the most certain judgment: allowing this principle, I considered the seditious party as terrible, only on account of the mischievous influence that it might have in the provinces, by misrepresentations of the king and government; and the dread that might be raised of oppression and slavery. And as those influences and those terrors would be made every day less by effects of a contrary kind, and had never infected the principal governments, or great cities, the court could never see itself opposed but by a paltry rabble, and a few petty fortresses, unable to stand a fortnight against a royal army.

THE king was at Metz when he heard the first news of the sickness of queen Elizabeth, which

was sent to him by the count de Beaumont †, our ambassador at London: his majesty, thereupon, resolved to hasten his departure from that city. At his sister's request, he went from thence to Nancy, where she had caused a magnificent ballet or interlude to be prepared for his entertainment. He remained there for some days in great anxiety about the next advices which he expected to receive concerning the health of Elizabeth. The death ‡ of this great queen, which he heard of soon after, was an irreparable loss to Europe, and to Henry in particular, who could not hope, in the successor of Elizabeth, to find the same favourable disposition to all his designs as he had in this princess, "the irreconcilable enemy of his irreconcilable enemies, and a second self:" such were the terms which Henry made use of in a letter he wrote to me on this event, which was almost wholly filled with the praises of this great queen, and expressions of sorrow for her loss.

His majesty, who was immediately sensible how greatly this event might influence the political af-

† Christopher de Harlay, governor of Orleans, who died in 1615.

‡ Elizabeth died the 4th of April, N. S. in the 70th year of her age, and the 44th of her reign. The public report and the common opinion of the historians at that time, were, that her death was occasioned by a secret grief and melancholy which she could not conquer; the occasion of which was attributed to her remorse and self-reproach for being the cause of the earl of Essex's death, for whom, among all her favourites, she had shewn the greatest affection. This is the opinion of Matthieu, tom. II. liv. iii. p. 570. Thuanus and some others say nothing of this supposed grief, but, on the contrary, say, that like Augustus, she died without grief or fear, and only through the mere failure of nature. Her hatred against our religion, and her cruelty in putting her first cousin, queen Mary, to death, have tarnished the lustre of her reign: nevertheless, I acquiesce in the eulogy bestowed upon her by Thuanus, who concludes his enumeration of her great abilities by saying, she had those of a king, not merely as such, but of a very great king. She spake Latin, Greek, French, Italian, and Spanish: she was also well versed in the mathematics, history, politics, &c. Besides particular histories of her life, see Thuanus, Perefixe, Journal de Hen. IV. La Septennaire, an. 1603. Memoires d'Etat de Villeroi, tom. III. p. 209. and other French historians.

fairs of Europe, determin'd, as I have already said, to send me in quality of ambassador extraordinary to king James. He informed me of this his intention in the letter above-mentioned; and fearing, perhaps, that I should oppose it, as I had formerly done, endeavoured to prevail upon me to accept this commission by the strongest motives, and such as he knew most likely to make an impression on me. I was the only person Henry could think of for this purpose; I repeat his words, and that because I was the only man in France who had any knowledge of the affairs that were to be negotiated in this embassy. My religion, probably, had already disposed the new king in my favour, and would gain me free access to him. I dare not mention what his majesty further said, in regard to that reputation of honour and fidelity which he said I had acquired among foreigners. Henry soon followed his letter: from Nancy he returned through Toul, Vitry, Rheims, Villers-cotterets, and Saint-Germain-en-layé, to Fontainebleau, which, within a few days, completed a tour of two months.

I HAD received a second letter soon after the first, in which his majesty ordered me to meet him fifteen or twenty leagues from Paris. A report was current, that immediately upon the death of Elizabeth the Spaniards began to use their utmost efforts to gain the new king; we shall afterwards see that this report was but too well grounded. Henry had a thousand things to say to me on this head, which made him extremely desirous of an opportunity to converse freely with me about it. I joined him at the house of Monglat, where he had scarce any attendants with him, at which he expressed great satisfaction. He embraced me closely three times, said a few words publicly to me on the success of his journey, and enquired more particularly of me about his † buildings:

† Henry IV. built the new castle of Saint-Germain, extended the gardens to the banks of the Seine, and formed its beautiful terrasses.

at Saint-Germain and Paris. Materials were then collecting for building his grand gallery at the Louvre, for the arsenal, and for other works, of which I had the inspection and conduct, and which had been partly the subjects of those letters I had received from him; therein he had also directed me to proceed in the execution of what had been projected in regard to that apartment of the Louvre called The Hall of Antiquities.

AFTER I had, in a concise but satisfactory manner, replied to all these articles, Henry took me by the hand and led me into the garden, at the door of which he ordered some of his guards to be placed. The embassy to England was the sole subject of our conversation. His majesty had at first imparted to his court his resolution to send this embassy, but without naming the person whom he had fixed upon to execute it. The knowledge of this alone had excited some murmurs among the partisans of the pope and Spain, and it was said, that Henry sought allies only among princes who were of a different religion from his own. But when his majesty, notwithstanding, declared publicly his intention to invest me with this employment, their disgust then shewed itself without restraint. This whole cabal, which I had good reason to think was made up of my most inveterate enemies, boldly represented to his majesty, that to send a huguenot to treat concerning the interest of the kingdom, with a prince of the same religion, would be highly dangerous to the state; and more especially so, were he intrusted with a full power. Finding they could not prevail upon his majesty to revoke my nomination, they contented themselves with getting my commission confined only to condolences upon the death of the late queen, and compliments for the new king; or, at most, to an inspection into the state of affairs in England; but without any power to act, or even to confer, on the principal occasion of my journey.

HENRY,

HENRY, at the same time that he informed me of these secret practices in his court, of which I was till then ignorant, repeated to me his assurances, that he had not been influenced by them to alter his designs, either with respect to the embassy, his choice of me, or of the particular point which he had at first in view: and he further confirmed this his resolution, by judiciously observing, that an embassy, whose commission should be confined merely to ceremony, would be useless and vain; and that, if there were any hopes of ever seeing the new king of England pursue the maxims of Elizabeth, in regard to the political engagements of that princess, it would doubtless depend chiefly on the manner in which he should be at first prejudiced against the house of Austria, and in favour of the alliance with France and its antient partisans: but he confessed to me, that this point appeared to him, in all respect, so extremely difficult, that, unless it was managed with the utmost dexterity, both in the council of France, and at the English court, it would, perhaps, be better not to think of it at all. He further said, that it would first be necessary so to impose on the enemies which I had in the court and council, that they might suspect nothing in my commission more than what should be declared to me in their presence, and even with their consent. His majesty, on this occasion, repeated a simile, of La Riviere's, which he often used, that the kingdom of France may be compared to an apothecary's shop, in which are contained not only the most salutary remedies, but also the most subtle poisons; and that the king, like an able apothecary, ought to make the best advantage of both, by mixing them in the most proper manner. In regard to the propositions which I should make to the English ministers, he said, I ought to be cautious not to expose the sovereign of the principal kingdom in Europe to the shame of having made advances which should be neglected or despised, and

perhaps to a necessity of revenging them: and as to the more secret propositions, which, at a proper opportunity, I should make to king James, he said it would require great judgment and dexterity, to avoid hastening, by any imprudent step, his engagements with Spain, which as yet were, perhaps, uncertain, or at least far from being concluded. His majesty supposed, that all causes of dissatisfaction might, as much as it was possible, be obviated, by giving me, in writing, and in open council, such instructions, in regard to my embassy, as should appear to be only general, and merely complimentary, which I might publicly produce in England as well as in France, but which, however, should not prevent my seconding his majesty's more particular intentions, whenever a favourable opportunity might present; provided, nevertheless, that I did it as of myself, and without giving this prince to understand, that I was authorised herein by the king my master.

WHAT his majesty thus acquainted me with, appeared to me of such great consequence, that I desired him to grant me four days to consider of it, before I gave him my answer. I immediately set out post for Paris, to be at liberty to make my reflexions, and Henry departed from thence for Jully. I easily persuaded myself to comply with the king's desires, but I thought it a necessary precaution to have his majesty's more immediate avowal and authority for all these propositions which he had enjoined me to make to the king of England, as of myself, without which I thought it would be risking too much. To be favourably received and heard by king James, it would be proper to begin by gaining his confidence, to which my religion gave me the best claim; but I was sensible, that, by this, I should be obliged to break through those bounds of circumspection, which, in France, I had prescribed to myself, out of a deference to the religion of the prince. I had no reason to doubt but that, whatever words might
escape.

escape me, which, in this respect, should appear somewhat free, would be as industriously reported by the enemies I should have in that court, as they could have been in France; and I had equal cause for being apprehensive, that something of this kind should be afterwards represented in such a manner, as to appear criminal in the eyes of his majesty, who, as well as other good princes, had his moments of mistrust and ill humour; and sometimes one of these moments is sufficient to ruin a minister, however firmly supported; a reverse of fortune which it was not impossible but I myself might experience.

ALL these considerations confirmed me in a resolution, not to depart without a writing signed by his majesty, and known only to us two, whereby, whatever my conduct might be at the court of London, and whatever expressions I might use to the king of England, I might be able, if necessary, to justify myself, and shew that I had done nothing but to promote the success of our affairs, and that by his majesty's express orders. Thus I declared myself to Henry, when, at the end of four days, he came to the arsenal to receive my answer; though indeed I made this declaration no otherwise than by saying, that I was full of fears lest any part of my conduct, on this occasion, should draw upon me the misfortune of his displeasure.

WE were at that instant alone. Henry, after having taken a short turn among the workmen in the grand walk, and commended what they were doing, called me to him, and we went, as was his custom, to the end of this walk, which terminates in a kind of balcony, from whence there is a view of Paris. My proposal gave him a moment's thought, after which he confessed I was in the right, and in a few days he brought me himself the writing I required, and, having read it to me, gave it into my hands. It was expressed in such terms, as rendered it highly probable that Henry would never oblige me
to

to make it public. I was permitted to appear, to the king of England and his ministers, so zealous for the reformed religion, as to give them assurances that I preferred it both to my country and king, to whom, on this account, I was not more attached than to the king of England. The propositions which I was to make this prince were also enumerated, but I shall omit them here, as being already related in the account of my conference with queen Elizabeth, and of Henry's grand design : I was also directed to desire the king of England, in case he should not approve of what I had to propose to him, not to let it be known in France, because I was not authorised to make any such propositions; and further (supposing king James approved them) I should feign to defer communicating to the king my master what might be agreed between us, till I should see whether it would be as favourably received by the northern crowns, and the states-general of the United-Provinces, as by his Britannic majesty.

SUCH was my secret credential letter, which I then considered as a great acquisition, and no doubt the king, on his side, thought it as great a compliance; yet it is certain, that by this we had neither of us done what was sufficient. It was necessary to be prepared for the king of England's absolute and entire compliance with all his majesty's intentions, and to be able to make the best of an opportunity, which perhaps might never offer again. In a word, to conclude a treaty, I ought to have carried with me a blank signed by the king; but our fear of the faction we had to combat in council did scarce permit us even to think of this.

IN regard to the general instructions which I have mentioned, the king deferred having them drawn up till he came to Fontainebleau, for which place he set out, attended by his whole court; and in three days his council were to follow; but they were countermanded on account of a violent disorder, which

which seized Henry immediately after his arrival at Fontainebleau, which was about the twentieth of May*: this was so strong a retention of urine, that his physicians at first despaired of his life. The king himself was strongly persuaded that his last hour approached, and being desirous to divide the few moments which he had yet to live, between the care of his soul, and that of his kingdom, he addressed himself with great fervour to God, and then dictated the following letter, which was immediately dispatched to me at Paris, where I was making the necessary preparations for my voyage, and little expected so melancholy a message. “ My friend, I find myself so ill, that it seems highly probable God will soon dispose of me; and it being my duty, next to the care of my soul, to make the necessary dispositions to secure the succession to my children, that their reign may be prosperous, and may promote the happiness of my wife, my kingdom, my good and faithful servants, and my dear people, whom I love equally with my own children, I desire to confer with you on all these matters: come to me therefore with all diligence, and say nothing of it to any one; make an appearance only of going to the conventicle at Abbeville; and having privately ordered post-horses to be there in readiness, proceed immediately to this place.”

THE perusal of this most sensibly affected me. I set out with the greatest precipitation. When I entered the king's chamber, I found him in his bed;

* The king, says the marechal de Bassompierre, was seized with a retention of urine on the eve of Pentecost, which gave him great pain, but he was soon freed from it. The physicians being assembled, (these are the words which we find in the Journal de L'Etoile) the result of their consultations were in these terms: *Abstineat à quavis muliere, etiam regina; sin minus, periculum est ne ante tres menses elapsis vitam cum morte commutet.* Henry the IVth did not strictly observe what was here enjoined him, nor did any bad consequence arise therefrom.

the queen was seated by him, and held one of his hands between hers ; he held out the other to me, and said, " My good friend, draw near and embrace me, I am extremely glad you are come ; is it not strange that, two hours after I wrote to you, my excessive pains should begin to abate ? I hope, by degrees, they will entirely leave me, for I have made water three times, the last most profusely, and with but little pain." Then turning to the queen, " This, said he, of all my servants, is he who best understands, and is most careful of, the interior affairs of my kingdom, and, had I been taken from you, would have been best able to serve both you and my children : I know, indeed, that his temper is somewhat austere, that he is often rather too plain for such a spirit as yours, and that, on this account, many have endeavoured to prejudice you and my children against him, that he might be removed from you ; but if ever this event should happen, and you should employ such and such persons (naming them softly in her ear) and, instead of following the good counsels of this man, should be wholly guided by their opinions, depend upon it, it will prove destructive to the state, and may, perhaps, ruin my children and yourself. I have sent thus suddenly for him, that, with him and you, I might consult upon the means to prevent these evils ; but I thank God my precautions will probably not yet be necessary."

COURIERS upon couriers were the next day dispatched, to dissipate the disagreeable rumours which were already spread in all places. I did not myself return to Paris, till I had seen the king make water : he would have it so, and he did it twice with such facility, that I was perfectly satisfied all danger was over. Three days after, I received a letter from him, wherein he informed me, that, having been bled in
the

the left arm by La Riviere the evening I left him, he had been greatly relieved, and, having rested well the whole night, found himself grow better and better every hour. He thanked me for the interest I seemed to take in his health, and for the advice which, on this occasion, I had been free enough to give him, to be more moderate in hunting; and he promised to observe what I had said. He was already able to be as circumstantial as usual in those details with which his letters were commonly filled: he directed me in this, to send two hundred crowns to each of the persons afflicted with the evil, whom his own disorder had prevented him from touching, and whom nevertheless he would not send back. Herein also, he thanked me for the portraits of the new king and queen of England, which I had sent him. His majesty's physicians were unanimous, on this occasion, in making him the same representations which I had done, in regard to the injury his health received from the violence of his exercise in hunting. He followed their advice, and found himself considerably better for it: he also received great benefit from the waters of Pougues, which he drank this year for some time, during which the young princess his daughter was taken so ill, that her life was despaired of; both the king and the dauphin his son went frequently to see her.

TOGETHER with this letter from his majesty, the contents of which I have here related, I received another much longer, which Villeroi wrote to me by his order, upon the affairs of England. Herein he informed me, that his majesty had sent to acquaint the count of Beaumont with his recovery, that he might notify it to the king of England; also that I was expected by his Britannic majesty, who attributed my delay to the king's indisposition, and to the baron Du-Tour's not having notified to the king in form, the death of Elizabeth, and the accession

cession of James the VIth* to the crown of England. The baron Du Tour was, for this purpose, sent by James to his most Christian majesty: he left London on the day after this prince's entry there, and arrived a few days after at Fontainebleau, where he acquitted himself of his commission. Villeroi further informed me, that my departure from England, for these reasons, being no longer to be deferred, the king would soon send for me, and inform me of the day: but his majesty changed his intention in this respect, and came himself to Paris. The heat, which had begun early in this year, was excessive, and rendered the sands of Fontainebleau insupportable to one but just recovering from sickness.

Two days after his majesty's arrival at Paris, he assembled the chancellor Bellievre, Villeroi, Maisse, and Sillery, on the subject of my departure, and that I might receive my public instructions

* Henry Stuart, baron of Darnly, duke of Rothesay, &c. espoused Mary Stuart, widow of Francis II. of France; she having after his death retired into Scotland. He was strangled in his bed in 1567. James Stuart, at first king of Scotland, and afterwards of England, was his son, and died in 1625. On his accession to the crown of England, the marquiss of Roigny wrote the following complimentary letter to the archbishop of Glasgow, at that time his ambassador in France; the original of which is in the cabinet of the present duke of Sully.

To the Scots ambassador.

S I R,

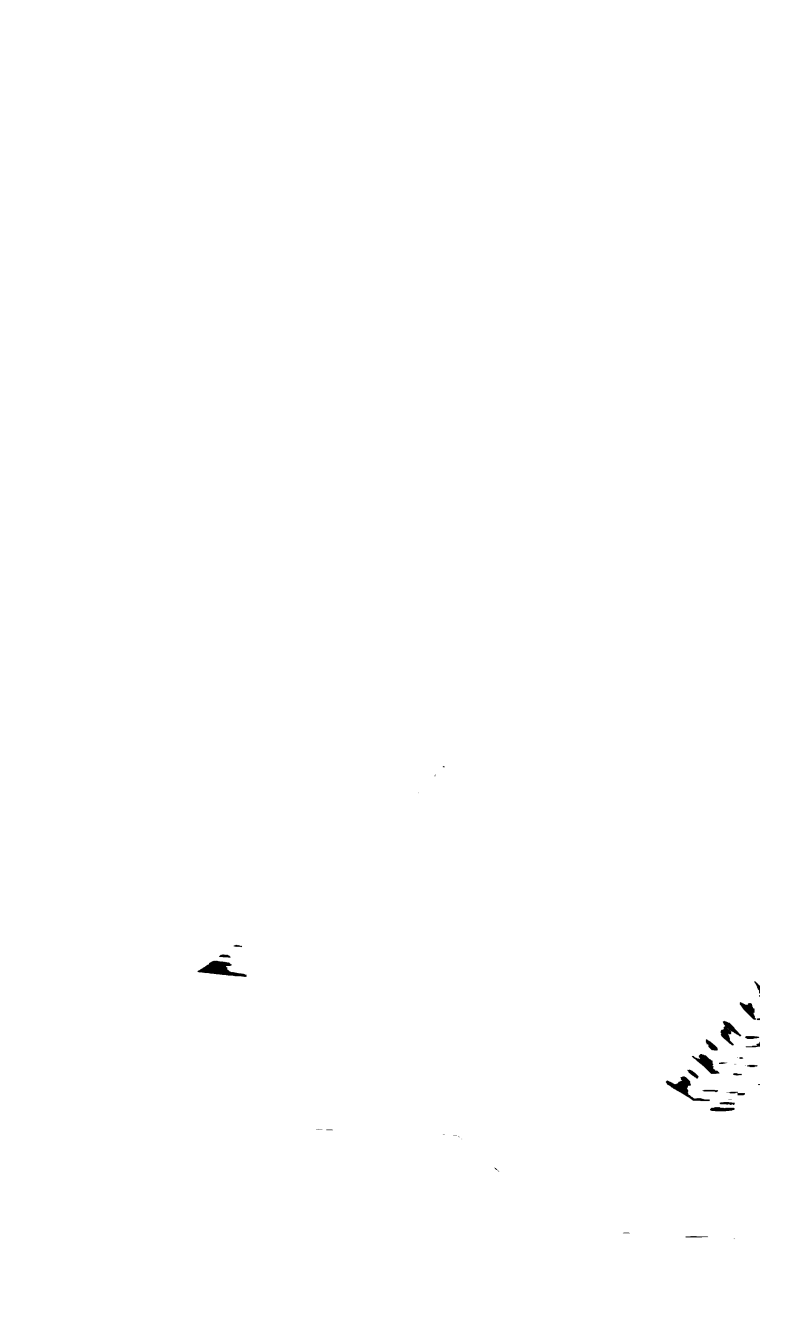
" The interest you have in the prosperity of the affairs of the
 " king of Scotland, joined to the desire I have to do you service,
 " have induced me to write to you, that, by the letter which I have
 " just received from the governor of Dieppe, you might be informed
 " of the decease of the queen of England, of the accession, reception
 " and acknowledgment of the king of Scotland to that crown,
 " and that all things there are in a state of peace and tranquility; for
 " which I rejoice with you, it being highly beneficial to all, and the
 " desire of every good man."

S I R,

" Your most humble cousin
 " and servant."

Signed ROIGNY.

in



giving the coadjutorship of it to the brother-in-law of the catholic king; finally, her proceedings to obtain universal monarchy: all which did but too evidently appear.

IN consequence of these representations, the king of England must either have concluded a peace with Spain, or have entered into an open or secret war against that crown: in the first case, I was to convince this prince, that a peace would enable Spain to get possession of the Low Countries: after which she would not fail to turn her arms either against France or England; and most probably towards the latter, on account of the pope's long inveteracy to it. I was also to undeceive the king of England, in regard to the report industriously spread by Spain, that she had no intention to get possession of the Low Countries, but only to form them into a distinct kingdom, such as that of Burgundy had been, to be given to the arch-duke. As a last resource, I was to insist, that Spain should at least be made to purchase this peace at a high price, or should be obliged to the king of France or England for it; and especially that she should give up Ostend. In case an open war should be resolved upon, I was to endeavour to discover the intention of the king of England on that head, and if possible prevent it, and represent to him the necessity of beginning by giving a powerful assistance to the States.

FINALLY, if a secret war was resolved upon, in which I was to use my endeavours to confirm or engage the king of England, in this case I was to represent to him, that prudence required he should begin by strengthening himself upon the throne, securing it to his descendants, and by gaining Europe in his interests; so that Spain might be one day irresistibly attacked: that till this was effected it would be proper only to keep this power in awe, or engage her in a fruitless employment of her forces against Flanders; that in the mean time the conditions of
the

the union might be agreed on, and cemented by a double marriage between the children of the two kings ; which, however, should not be declared till they had begun the execution of their designs. I was moreover to be particularly careful to regulate and determine the nature of the succours which were provisionally to be given the States ; and prevent the English council from demanding the three hundred thousand livres which that crown had lent the United Provinces, lest they might thereby be induced to throw themselves into the arms of Spain : on the contrary, I was to persuade his Britannic majesty to be at new expences, equally with his most Christian majesty, in favour of these people, and to assist them with the same number of ships as queen Elizabeth had done ; also to obtain permission, that the four hundred and fifty thousand livres, which this queen had lent France, might be applied as exigencies should require in Flanders ; and that three hundred thousand livres more might be added to them by England, that, with the seven hundred and fifty thousand livres which Henry obliged himself to join to them, a fund might be formed of fifteen hundred thousand livres for the present necessities of the States-General. In case I could not gain a compliance with these articles, I was to endeavour to get the States debt to England of three hundred thousand livres discharged, France obliging herself to pay it ; also, to manage this affair in such a manner, that the king of England might not have the maritime towns of Holland delivered to him as securities for these succours ; and to sound his intentions in regard to those of which he was already possessed in Zealand. In pursuance of this plan, I was to consult with Barnevelt, act in concert with him and the states deputies at London, seem attached to their interests, entertain them with agreeable hopes, persuade them that their interests were the care of the British council, without giving

giving umbrage to this council, and make the best advantage I could of the knowledge they might have acquired of the new court and the king.

THESE were the principal points of my instructions: there were some others which did not relate to the same subject, or at least not immediately; such was that in regard to the piracies of the English. I was charged to complain, that since the treaty of Vervins they had taken from France to the amount of a million; and I was to endeavour to get a dissolution of the treaty of commerce concluded between England and France in 1572, as being disadvantageous to France, which by that treaty had not the same privileges and immunities in England that the English had in France. The close union between Elizabeth and Henry had caused all things to be equal on both sides during the reign of that queen, and this treaty was then considered as void, though it had never been formally annulled. My orders were, however, to be extremely circumspect on this head, and even entirely to suppress it, if I found that by bringing it upon the carpet I might run any risque of raising a suspicion in the new king, from which Elizabeth herself had not been exempt, that France only sought to embark England in a war with Spain, out of which she would then easily extricate herself. If what the baron Du-Tour had said in France, of his Britannic majesty's resolution to succour Ostend, should appear to be well grounded, I might then spare myself part of these precautions.

THE manner in which I was to treat with the ambassadors of the king of Spain and the archdukes; the attention which I was to bestow on the affairs of Ireland and Scotland; and the justification of Beaumont, against whom king James had been prejudiced, and for whom I was charged to procure the same privileges of this prince which were enjoyed by his agent in France: these were other articles of my instructions. There was one
article

article concerning the duke of Bouillon, in respect to whom I was to be silent, unless the king of England should speak to me about him, to which he would probably be induced by the elector Palatine; and in this case I was to paint the duke of Bouillon in his real character, and not to engage the king of France in any thing on his account. We may observe, that the subjects of my negociations were sufficiently extensive; for I was to gain a knowledge of the dispositions of the king and people of England, not only with respect to Spain and Flanders, but also to the northern crowns: to say the truth, the political state of all Europe was concerned in my ensuing conduct and its consequences.

THESE instructions*, in which, to my other titles, his majesty had added that of marquis, having been read to me aloud, were then delivered to me in presence of the count of Soissons, Sillery, and Jeanin, signed by his majesty and Villeroi. Henry also gave me six letters, one from his majesty to the king of England, besides another for the same prince for form-sake counter-signed; two others, in the same manner, from the king to the queen of England, and two others from the queen of France to the king and queen of England: his majesty also gave me a cypher, with which the council was acquainted; but he likewise secretly gave me another, of which none but we two had the key. When I went to take my leave of this prince, he presented me his hand to kiss, then embraced me, wished me a good voyage, repeated his reliance upon me, and his hopes of my good success.

THE beginning of June I set out for Calais, where

* The original of these instructions, signed with Henry IV's own hand, is still in being; as also another piece, written by M. de Rosny, bearing this title, *A memorandum made by me, and delivered to M. de Villeroi, according to his desire, to assist him in preparing my instructions.* This piece is only a recapitulation of all the points which were the objects of his embassy to London. Cabinet of the duke of Sully.

I was to embark, having with me a retinue of upwards of two hundred gentlemen, or who called themselves such, of whom a considerable number were really of the first distinction. Just before my departure old Servin came and presented his son to me, and begged I would use my endeavours to make him a man of some worth and honesty; but he confessed it was what he dared not hope, not through any want of understanding or capacity in the young man, but from his natural inclination to all kinds of vice. The old man was in the right: what he told me having excited my curiosity to gain a thorough knowledge of young Servin, I found him to be at once both a wonder and a monster; for I can give no other idea of that assemblage of the most excellent and most pernicious qualities. Let the reader represent to himself a man of a genius so lively, and an understanding so extensive, as rendered him scarce ignorant of any thing that could be known; of so vast and ready a comprehension, that he immediately made himself master of what he attempted; and of so prodigious a memory, that he never forgot what he had once learned; he possessed all parts of philosophy and the mathematics, particularly fortification and drawing; even in theology he was so well skilled, that he was an excellent preacher whenever he had a mind to exert that talent, and an able disputant for and against the reformed religion indifferently; he not only understood Greek, Hebrew, and all the languages which we call learned, but also all the different jargons, or modern dialects; he accented and pronounced them so naturally, and so perfectly imitated the gestures and manners both of the several nations of Europe, and the particular provinces of France, that he might have been taken for a native of all or any of these countries; and this quality he applied to counterfeit all sorts of persons, wherein he succeeded wonderfully; he was, moreover, the best comedian and greatest droll that perhaps ever appeared;

peared; he had a genius for poetry, and had wrote many verses; he played upon almost all instruments; was a perfect master of music, and sung most agreeably and justly; he likewise could say mass; for he was of a disposition to do, as well as to know, all things: his body was perfectly well suited to his mind, he was light, nimble, dexterous, and fit for all exercises; he could ride well, and in dancing, wrestling, and leaping, he was admired: there are not any recreative games that he did not know; and he was skilled in almost all mechanic arts. But now for the reverse of the medal: here it appeared that he was treacherous, cruel, cowardly, deceitful; a liar, a cheat, a drunkard and glutton; a sharper in play, immersed in every species of vice, a blasphemer, an atheist: in a word, in him might be found all the vices contrary to nature, honour, religion, and society; the truth of which he himself evinced with his latest breath, for he died in the flower of his age; in a common brothel, perfectly corrupted by his debaucheries, and expired with the glass in his hand, cursing and denying God.

FROM the moment of my departure to that of my return, I wrote regularly to his majesty, and gave him an exact account of whatever happened to me. My letters were of three kinds: for indifferent things I used only the common character; my general cypher I used for such matters as were to be known only to the council; and my secret cypher I employed in what I addressed to the king himself, which was to be seen only by him: his majesty chose to have the greatest part of my letters in this cypher, though he found the difficulty of decyphering so great, that he at last entrusted the key to Lomenie, whom he encouraged from time to time to render himself well skilled in it; but the difficulty which I experienced myself in the use of this cypher, whenever I wanted to descend to particulars, compelled me to abridge the ordinary length of my

letters; however, I complied with his majesty's desires in this respect as well as I could, more especially after the affair of the lost dispatch. All these letters, which I have preserved, I shall here reduce to the form of a narrative, wherein the public may be exactly informed of every material circumstance relative to my embassy at London, and my negotiations with king James.

I STAYED a day at Calais, waiting for Saint-Luc and some others, who had honoured me with their company. I found the vice-admiral * of France ready to receive me: and the vice-admirals of England and Holland also came and desired I would embark in their ships. The report current at Calais, of the good understanding between the English and Spaniards, occasioned by what had passed at the embarkation of count d'Artemberg, ambassador from the arch-dukes, and the complaints which I saw made to De-Vic, of the enterprizes of the English cruisers upon the coasts of France, inclined me at first to refuse their offers; but finding nothing in the letters which I received at Calais from Beaumont, concerning what I was told, to prejudice me against the new court of London, I changed my design in this respect; and that I might not begin by giving them any cause of complaint, I accepted the two vessels offered me by the English vice-admiral.

I EMBARKED the 15th of June at six o'clock in the morning. The English, by whom I was served, paid me a respect which appeared to me to degenerate into servility: but I had very soon reason to alter this opinion of them. Even at the very moment when they desired I would command them in every respect as if they were of my own nation, De-Vic, who only sought an opportunity of shewing the English his resentment of the violences committed by their pirates, advancing, bearing the French flag on his

* Dominic De Vic, signior d'Ermenonville, governor of Saint-Denis, Calais, and Amiens, vice-admiral of France: he died in 1610.

main-top-gallant-mast, .I found these complaisant English were enraged at an offence, which, according to them, was equally injurious to the king of England, and the king of France, whom I represented : and I had reason to think them still more rude and unpolite, when, without deigning to consult me, fifty shot were immediately fired against De-Vic's † ship. It was with great difficulty that

† Thuanus and the Septenary Chronology, whose testimony hereupon is of great weight, more especially as they agree in it, both say, that the captain of the English ship in which M. de Rosny was, did actually fire upon the French vice-admiral. But as I suspect our Memoirs either for the honour of our nation, or perhaps from vanity, have somewhat qualified this matter, I will here lay it before the reader as it is related in the Chronology above-mentioned : “ De-Vic, “ vice-admiral of France, soon after he had cast anchor in Dover- “ road (at which place he had landed part of the retinue of M. de “ Rosny) sailed from thence on his return to Calais, and passing by “ the ship on board of which M. de Rosny then was, he ordered his “ flag to be hoisted, and gave him a salute ; soon after which, the “ flag was again taken in. The English captain of the ship wherein “ M. de Rosny was, seeing the French flag hoisted, commanded his “ men to fire upon the vice-admiral of France, swearing he would “ suffer no flag to be seen in these seas but that of England. A gun “ was immediately fired upon De-Vic's ship, who, having demanded “ the reason of it, prepared to defend himself. M. de Rosny com- “ plained of it to the English captain, and represented the firing this “ shot as an offence done to himself ; but he talked to a man who re- “ fused to hear reason, and who answered him only with rage and “ fury ; he was therefore forced to submit, and made a sign to the “ vice-admiral of France to take in his flag, which he did. De-Vic “ thinking himself injured, demanded satisfaction of the English ad- “ miral ; who answered him, that the king of England, his master, “ did not permit what the captain had presumed to do, desired that “ he would excuse his indiscretion, &c. and promised that nothing “ like it should ever happen again. This reply appeased and quieted all “ parties.” Chron. Septen. and Thuanus, an. 1603. Cardinal Richlieu, in his Testament Politique, makes use of this as an argu- ment, to demonstrate to Lewis XIII. the absolute necessity there was for a naval power : “ The cannonshot, says he, by piercing the vessel, “ pierced the hearts of all true Frenchmen ; and if the words of king “ James were civil, yet were they of no other effect, than to oblige “ the duke of Sully to obtain his satisfaction from his own prudence, “ by feigning to be contented, tho' his discontent, and his reason for “ it, was really greater, and farther from being removed than ever. “ The king, your father, was under a necessity to use dissimulation on “ this occasion, but he did it with the resolution, whenever it “ might again be necessary, to maintain the just rights of his crown

I made myself heard ; which, however, I at last effected, by representing to them, that De-Vic acted thus only to do me the greater honour ; and also to give me a more distinguished mark of his respect, by dropping his flag upon my first command so to do. I thought it would be most prudent to do this ; and my English hearing what I said, were so far prevailed upon by it, as to make their next discharge at random. I made a signal to De-Vic, which he perfectly understood, and took in his flag ; but, as I was afterwards told, he swore at the same time to be revenged on the English whenever he should again meet with them. Though I much question, had the opportunity now been given him, whether he could have obtained the revenge he threatened : be that however as it will, the dispute was ended by this means, and our passage met with no further interruption.

I ARRIVED at Dover about three o'clock in the afternoon. Beaumont, together with Sir Lewis Lewkenor, were there waiting for me. Sir Lewis had the same office in England, which Gondy had in France, being that part of the reception of ambassadors which consists in providing them with lodging, provisions, horses, or chariots, and other things of this nature. The mayor of Dover also came and complimented me ; and the acclamations of the people were so great, that it was said, that nothing like it had ever before been seen for any ambassador. But I was not now to be imposed upon by these appearances, having so lately received a different specimen of the English politeness, of which

“ by such a naval force as time would furnish him with the means to acquire.” Part II. chap. ix. In regard to the fact, which is also related in the Testament, the circumstances are told in a manner almost entirely different. We may further observe, that M. de Sully, in that part of his Memoirs where he speaks of the satisfaction which he desired king James to grant him, passes it over very slightly ; doubtless, because he would not appear to have been so very grievously offended as perhaps he really was.

I had another example, even before my departure from Dover.

THE governor of this place sent his nephew to me, to desire I would come with him and see the castle, he not being able to wait on me himself, being confined to his bed by the gout. This invitation was followed by a second, from which I conceived a good opinion of the person by whom they were sent; and I thought the imputation of want of civility might justly have fallen upon myself, had I after this quitted Dover, without waiting on the governor. I therefore went to the castle the next day, with all my retinue; but I soon discovered, that the chief motive to this civil invitation was the pecuniary reward exacted of those who have the curiosity to see the castle of Dover. This was demanded of every one of my retinue, and that too rudely enough, which was followed by the ceremony of making all, except myself, quit their swords. Being introduced to the governor, whose name was Thomas Wymes, he received us seated in his chair, but, perceiving that some of us were looking at the towers and walls of the castle, he put on so sour a countenance, that, pretending to be afraid lest our presence might incommode him, I immediately withdrew, without looking at any thing further. I had exhorted my retinue, whatever might be said or done to them, not to forget the rules of French politeness; and this proved to be no unnecessary caution.

WHEN we were upon our departure for London, Lewkenor no longer shewed himself that polite and obliging person, who but just before had demanded a list of those who accompanied me, that, as he said, they might all be furnished with the necessary horses and chariots: and I could not but suppose his sole design, in getting this list, was that he might send it to London; for he suffered all my retinue to provide themselves horses as well as they could, and at their own costs; and these mild people lent them at

so high a price, and at the same time with so much arrogance, that they seemed to think they did us a favour. However, we all carefully concealed our sentiments of so rude a treatment. My own conveyance I procured in the coach of the count of Beaumont.

I HAD more reason to be pleased with the behaviour of the gentry in and about Canterbury: they came to meet me upon the road; and that they might pay me all imaginable honours and respects, they pretended to have received orders so to do from the king of England. Canterbury is but a small city, tho' extremely populous, and so polite that, in no other place, I received such distinguished honours and civilities as there; some came to kiss my boot, others to kiss my hands, and others to make me presents of flowers; all which must be attributed not to the English of this city (they every where preserve their character of aversion for the French) but to the Walloons and Flemish, who, having at many different times taken refuge in this city on account of their religion, have at last almost entirely changed it, and, at this day, compose two thirds of its inhabitants. I visited the church, and was present at the service, wherein the music was excellent. The church is extremely beautiful and magnificent. When the canons understood that I was of their religion, they redoubled their caresses and civilities: one of them shewed himself so well affected to France, as to give me an information of some consequence, which was afterwards confirmed by Aërsens to Henry himself. This canon had been intimately acquainted with Arnold, the father of him whom I had with me as one of my secretaries; and being informed that this was the son of his old friend, he came to see him, and, among other things, told him, that he had been informed by the secretary of count Aremberg *, ambassador from the arch-

* John de Ligne, prince of Barbançon, count of Aremberg. duke,

duke, who had passed through Canterbury only a few days before, that his master was charged to represent to the king of England, with a view to engage him in an alliance with Spain, that Henry meditated great designs against England, which would openly appear in less than two years; and, at the same time, to make offers to his Britannic majesty of powerful succours from the king of Spain, with which he might prevent the designs that Henry meditated, by seizing certain provinces of France, on which the king of England had much juster pretensions, than any Henry could have upon England.

HERE my lord Sidney came, and complimented me from the king of England, and made me many obliging offers of service. I knew that the person who had been charged with the same commission to count d'Aremberg, was my lord Howard, whose rank was much superior to Sidney's, being the duke of Norfolk's nephew, uncle to the great chamberlain, and member of the privy-council: at first, therefore, I was apprehensive that this deputation might be a mark of some contempt from the king of England; but afterwards reflecting that the quality of the person who had received the ambassador from Spain was inferior even to Sidney's, I concluded that all this might be merely accidental, more especially as I could not receive greater honours than those which Sidney, and others by his direction, paid me. I nevertheless communicated my thoughts hereupon to Beaumont, by desiring him to get an explanation of it, but to do it with such address, that no cause might be given to perceive a misunderstanding, where, perhaps, none was intended to be shewn. Beaumont addressed himself to Sidney himself, and managed the affair with him so well, that he immediately wrote to the court of London, to inform them that they should send an earl of the privy-council to receive me, which was done accordingly. The earl of Southampton, one of the ministers and con-

fidents of king James, came to me from that prince at Gravesend, accompanied by a numerous train of nobility and gentry. In our way to Gravesend we passed through Rochester; where our reception was extremely different from that at Canterbury; the inhabitants of that city had effaced the marks which were placed by the king of England's messengers on those houses where we were to be entertained and lodged, if necessary.

AT Gravesend I was received in the king of England's barges, a kind of covered boats, which are very commodious and richly ornamented; and in one of these I was carried up the Thames to London, where, upon my arrival, the Tower alone saluted us with upwards of three thousand guns, besides the discharges from several ship-guns, and the musquetry from the mole and fort before this tower: I scarce ever heard a finer salute. I landed near the Tower, where many coaches, of which Southampton and Sidney performed the honours, were ready to carry me, and all my retinue, to the house of the count of Beaumont, which I had chosen for the day. The confluence of people was so great, that we could scarce open ourselves a passage.

THIS very evening, I had an opportunity of being better acquainted with the character of the two English lords who had been sent to conduct me. Upon my arrival at Beaumont's, my lord Southampton took me aside, and having told me, that the king, who was at Windsor, a castle about twenty miles from London, had ordered him to come to him there that day, however late it might be, to inform him of the particulars of my arrival, he earnestly desired, having first expressed to me his zeal, that I would impart something to him which he might communicate to his majesty, no doubt with an intention to do himself honour by it, and gain the favour of that prince. After him my lord Sidney came, and made me the same request, by ingenuously telling

telling me, that he hoped the honour which he had received by being first deputed to me, and the respect and attachment which he had for his most christian majesty, might merit my reserving for him at least some part of the affairs with which I was charged; and he added, that I should not disclose myself entirely to Southampton. I plainly perceived these gentlemen had a mutual jealousy of each other, and contended who should be the first that should give the king any informations. I very civilly thanked them, and appeared obliged to both, but gave the preference to Sidney; that is to say, the former received only false, and the latter nothing farther than general informations of but little consequence, and such as I should have been glad to see published.

THEY both made what use of them they thought proper: as to myself, I supped and lay this evening at Beaumont's, and I dined there the next day; for so short a time had not been sufficient to procure and prepare me lodgings, till the palace of Arundel, which was destined for me, could be got ready. This palace was one of the finest, and from its great number of apartments upon the same floor, the most commodious in London: but this greatly embarrassed my retinue, which could not be all lodged at Beaumont's. Houses and apartments were sought in the neighbourhood, but the difficulty was to get them; for the inhabitants refused to receive us, on account of the misbehaviour which they had but lately experienced in some of marechal Biron's people; the greatest part therefore had like to have been obliged to pass the night in the street.

It must indeed be confessed, that, if what I heard on this subject was true, Biron, by the excesses which he had suffered his whole retinue to commit, had not ineffectually laboured to justify the animosity of the English nation against us. I am accustomed to speak my sentiments freely, and never more so than when they may be of use in correcting our

manners. The youth of our nation have not yet divested themselves of that vain, pert, and conceited air, nor those licentious and even audacious manners, with which we have, in all ages, been reproached : unfortunately too they are not more circumspect among foreigners than in their own country, where they are accustomed to spend their lives at gaming-tables, and other places of debauchery, and run into boundless excesses.

I WAS fully resolved, that, if my conduct could not clear France from this reproach, it should not, at least, be incurred by those over whom I had authority ; and I determined to exercise this authority in such a manner, as to oblige all my people to a strict regularity of behaviour : but in these cases precepts are seldom effectual ; I therefore enforced them by an example, for which an opportunity happened almost immediately.

I WAS the next day accommodated with apartments in a very handsome house, situate in a great square, near which all my retinue were also provided with the necessary lodgings ; some of them went to entertain themselves with common women of the town : at the same place they met with some English, with whom they quarrelled, fought, and one of the English was killed. The populace, who were before prejudiced against us, being excited by the family of the deceased, who was a substantial citizen, assembled, and began loudly to threaten revenge upon all the French, even in their lodgings. The affair soon began to appear of great consequence ; for the number of people assembled upon the occasion was presently increased to upwards of three thousand, which obliged the French to fly for an asylum into the house of the ambassador. I did not at first take notice of it ; the evening advanced, and I was playing at primero with the marquis D'Oraison, Saint-Luc, and Blerancourt ; but observing them come in at different times by three or four together, and
with

with great emotion, I at last imagined something extraordinary had happened, and having questioned Terrail and Gadancourt, they informed me of the particulars.

THE honour of my nation, my own in particular, and the interest of my negotiation, were the first objects that presented themselves to my mind. I was also most sensibly grieved, that my entry into London should be marked at the beginning by so fatal an accident; and at that moment, I am persuaded, my countenance plainly expressed the sentiments with which I was agitated. Guided by my first impulse, I arose, took a flambeaux, and, ordering all that were in the house (which was about an hundred) to range themselves round the walls, hoped, by this means, to discover the murderer, which I did without any difficulty, by his agitation and fear: he was for denying it at first, but I soon obliged him to confess the truth. He was a young man, and the son of the sieur de Combaut, principal examiner in chancery, very rich, and a kinsman likewise of Beaumont's, who, entering that moment, desired me to give young Combaut into his hands, that he might endeavour to save him. "I do not wonder," replied I to Beaumont, with an air of authority and indignation, "that the English and you are at variance, if you are capable of preferring the interest of yourself and your relations, to that of the king and the public: but the service of the king my master, and the safety of so many gentlemen of good families, shall not suffer for such an imprudent stripling as this." I told Beaumont, in plain terms, that Combaut should be beheaded in a few minutes. "How, sir, cried Beaumont, behead a kinsman of mine, possessed of two hundred thousand crowns, an only son! it is but an ill recompence for the trouble he has given himself, and the expence he has been at to accompany you." I again replied, in as positive a tone,

“ I had no occasion for such company : ” and to be short, I desired Beaumont to quit my apartment ; for I thought it would be improper to have him present in the council, which I intended to hold immediately, in order to pronounce sentence of death upon Combaut.

IN this council, I made choice only of the oldest and the wisest of my retinue ; and the affair being presently determined, I sent Arnaud to inform the mayor of London of it, and to desire him to have his officers ready the next day, to conduct the culprit to the place of execution, and to have the executioner there ready to receive him. The mayor returned me for answer, that his first care had been to quiet the tumultuous populace, not doubting but I would do him justice ; and that he was just coming to demand it of me ; when he received my letter and the sentence : he moreover exhorted me to moderate it, either because my severity had disarmed his, or, which seemed most probable, because he had already suffered himself to be gained by presents from the friends of the criminal. I sent again to this magistrate to inform him, that as no superior authority, nor respect for any person whatever, had determined me to pronounce this sentence, I could not consent to revoke it : that, by carrying it into execution, I should justify the king my master, and give the English nation a convincing proof, that I had done every thing upon the occasion which my duty required ; therefore, in such an affair, I could only acquit myself of it by committing it to him, and by resigning the prisoner to such punishment as justice and the laws of England required. I accordingly sent Combaut to him ; so that the whole procedure became a particular affair between the mayor and Combaut, or rather Beaumont, who without much difficulty, obtained this magistrate’s consent to set Combaut at liberty, a favour which none could impute to me ; on the contrary, I perceived both the French and English

English seemed to think, that, if the affair had been determined by me, it would not have ended so well for Combaut; and the consequence of this to me, with respect to the English and French, was, that the former began to love me, and the latter to fear me more.

THIS removed at least one obstacle to the success of my negotiation: but there still remained many to encounter, from the nation in general, from the king, and from other particular persons, according as their different interests might incline them to traverse it. It is certain that the English hate us, and this hatred is so general and inveterate, that one would almost be tempted to number it among their natural dispositions: it is undoubtedly an effect of their arrogance and pride; for no nation in Europe is more haughty and insolent, nor more conceited of its superior excellence: were they to be believed, understanding and common sense are to be found only among them; they are obstinately wedded to all their own opinions, and despise those of every other nation; and to hear others or suspect themselves, is what never enters into their thoughts. This temper is more injurious to themselves than to us, as from hence they are at the mercy of all their caprices: sometimes one would be induced to think they have contracted all the instability of the element by which they are surrounded, with them all things must submit to the reigning dispositions, and the sole difference between them and any the most inconstant people in Europe, is, that their inconstancy proceeds not from lightness, but from their vanity, which continually shews itself in a thousand different shapes. Their self-love renders themselves slaves to all their capricious humours. What they at one time believe to have wisely performed, or firmly resolved, is at another time destroyed, without their knowing or being able to give a reason; they are accordingly so undetermined in themselves, that frequently one would not take them

for the same persons, and from hence they themselves sometimes appear surpris'd on perceiving their own continued irresolution. If we examine what are called their maxims of state, we shall discover in them only the laws of pride itself, adopted by arrogance or indolence.

FROM this portrait, it may at first appear not to be extremely difficult for an ambassador to inspire them with new resolutions; and this is true; but then it is only for the present moment: this being elapsed, they no longer remember what you may have enforced to them in the strongest manner. So that a king of France must continually have near them a person of understanding and authority, who might compel them, as it were, to hear him, and force them to be reasonable; and even in this case, such a person would always have their pride to combat, which inspires them with a belief that they are infinitely superior to all the other nations in Europe †.

FRANCE therefore can no more depend on the English than on any of her other neighbours; her true interest and best policy is to render her own interior state and condition such as may make her not only entirely independent, but also able to compel all Europe to feel its want of her; and this, after all, would only be difficult to ministers who can conceive no other methods to effect it than war and violence, methods that ought never to be pursued without an absolute necessity: but let the sovereign shew himself a lover of peace, disinterested in what regards himself, and strictly impartial with respect to others, he will then be certain to preserve all his neighbours

† I wish, with all my heart, I could have entirely suppressed every thing in this character, and in this whole relation, so little advantageous to a nation, whose virtues and genius have rendered it equally well respected and esteemed. To reconcile truth with the veracity of the author, we can only say, that he has here painted the English such as they appeared to him at that time: one of the most happy effects of the cultivation of arts, and the improvement of sciences, is, that those prejudices and partialities, which were the cause of hatred and jealousy, have hereby been dissipated.

in that dependence which is only durable, because it conciliates the affections, instead of subjecting the persons †.

I DARE farther maintain, that peace is the great and common interest of Europe, the petty princes of which ought to be continually employed in preserving it between the greater powers by all the most gentle and persuasive means; and the greater powers should force the lesser into it, if necessary, by assisting the weak and oppressed; this is the only use they ought to make of their superiority. When I consider Europe as composed of such civilized people, I cannot but be astonished that she still continues to be governed by principles so narrow, and customs so barbarous. What is the consequence of that profound policy of which she is so vain, other than her own continual laceration and ruin? War is the resource in all places and upon all occasions; she knows no other way, nor conceives any other expedients; it is the sole resource of the most inconsiderable sovereign, as well as of the greatest potentate; the only difference between them is, that the former makes it with less noise and in conjunction with others, while the latter does it with great preparation and frequently alone, that he may shew his grandeur, though in reality he only shews himself more signally despicable. Why must we always impose on ourselves the necessity of passing through war to arrive at peace? the attainment of which is the end of all wars, and is a plain proof that recourse is

† It is not surprising to hear such reasoning as this now we have acquired juster notions in war and politics, and that France is arrived at so great a degree of glory, that conquests can add nothing or but very little to it: but what opinion must we conceive of the views and penetration of the duke of Sully, when we behold him establishing principles, in appearance so improper for the states of misery and weakness, in which the kingdom was at that time, or at least from whence it was but just recovered? It is by such true, solid, and wise maxims as these, that the memoirs of Sully have become a rich mine, from whence all our able ministers have since drawn inestimable treasures.

had

had to war only for want of a better expedient : nevertheless, we have so effectually confounded this truth, that we seem to make peace only that we may again be able to make war. But let us now return to the English.

THE court of London might be considered as composed of four sorts of persons, who formed so many different factions ; and from this circumstance only one may infer, what in reality was true, that this court was full of suspicion, mistrust, jealousy, private and even public discontents. I shall here advance nothing, the truth of which I was not well convinced of, either by my own observations, or from the lights I received from the partisans of France, from those who called themselves such, from the discontented, and in short, from many other opportunities which occasionally occurred. The first of these factions was the Scotch, at the head of which were the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, lord Kintore, and other gentlemen of the king's bedchamber ; they were in the interest of France, and endeavoured to engage the king in their party, who seemed disposed to suffer himself to be governed entirely : some of them were tolerably skilled in military affairs, but not one of them was acquainted with the business of the cabinet. I have not mentioned the earl of Lennox in this number, because, though he was equally well inclined to France, he had nevertheless a party among the Scots which was separate from that of the earl of Mar, and even opposite to it, not indeed in its political principles, but only in a competition which should have the advantage in the king's favour, and there was a reciprocal and inveterate hatred between them. Thus the Scotch faction had subdivided itself into two.

THE second, in all respects entirely opposite to the former, was the Spanish faction : in this all the Howards were engaged, having at their head the admiral of that name, the great chamberlain, the
master.

master of the horse, the Humes, and others of less note. The third was composed of a number of old English, who, considering France and Spain as equi-ponderous, or being equally jealous of these two nations, were attached to neither, and sought to render Flanders independent of both, by restoring the antient kingdom of Burgundy. The first movers of this faction were the chancellor, the high-treasurer, and Cecil the secretary of state, at least as far as one could judge of a man who was all mystery; for he separated from, or united with all parties, according as he judged it most advantageous to his own particular interest: he had borne the principal sway in the late government, and he endeavoured with the same subtilty to acquire an equal share in the present; his experience, joined to his address, had already made him be considered by the king and queen as a necessary man. Lastly, there was a fourth faction, composed of such as meddled in affairs, without having any connexion with those before-mentioned, and even without having any agreement among themselves, unless that they would not separate nor unite with any other; their character was purely English; they breathed a spirit of sedition, and were ready to undertake any thing in favour of novelties, even were it against the king himself. They had at their head the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, and Cumberland, lord Cobham, Sir Walter Raleigh, Griffin, and others.

NOTHING could as yet be discovered with regard to any of these factions, except that they mutually hated and were jealous of each other; and it was impossible to foretel which would at length obtain the ascendant, and gain the prince in its interests. To judge from appearances, his favour would be disputed only by the men of learning, and the favourites of his bed-chamber; the first, because by their superior knowledge and dexterity they commonly succeeded better than others in gaining their master; the

the second, because they had the advantage of familiarity, and of being admitted into all his parties of pleasure: but the king's humour and inclinations were not yet sufficiently known; besides, that his accession to such a crown as that of England might occasion such alterations in them as would render any judgment on this head extremely precarious.

ALL that I had to fear was, lest, among the different sentiments with which endeavours would be used to inspire James, those should prove to be most difficult that were to attach him to the interests of France. Hitherto his inclinations had been conformable to those of the Northern powers, who were for making three divisions of the house of Austria; Spain, Germany, and Burgundy: they detested the first, as being too powerful and enterprising; the second they despised; but would however have been reconciled to it, by disuniting it from the Pope, Spain, and the Jesuits; the third was as yet only imaginary, but was what they so passionately desired, that they would have spared nothing to restore it, provided they would have also separated its interests from those of Spain and Germany, or at least have obliged these powers to renounce all pretensions upon one another.

KING James was not so well disposed in favour of Henry as Elizabeth had been; he had been informed that Henry, in derision, had called him, "Captain of arts, and clerk of arms." There was some reason to apprehend, that it would be difficult at first to hinder him from entertaining thoughts of renewing the antient pretences of England upon France, of which his courtiers had not failed to talk to him very earnestly. As to myself, it had been hinted to him, that both I and my brother had spoke of him in terms not very respectful. But to give the reader a more perfect knowledge of the character of this prince, let me add, that he meant well, was conscientious, eloquent, and had some erudition; tho' less

less of the latter, than of penetration and a disposition to learning. He loved to hear discourses on state-affairs, and to be entertained with great designs, which he himself considered and disposed with a spirit of method and system; but he never thought of carrying them farther, for he naturally hated war, and yet more to engage in it himself. He was indolent in his actions, except in hunting, and wanted application in his affairs; all which were signs of an easy and timid disposition, that made it highly probable he would be governed by others; and this was farther confirmed by his behaviour to the queen, his wife †.

THE character of this princess was quite the reverse of her husband's; she was naturally bold and enterprising; she loved pomp and grandeur, tumult and intrigue. She was deeply engaged in all the civil factions, not only in Scotland, in relation to the catholics, whom she supported, and had even first encouraged, but also in England; where the discontented, whose numbers were very considerable, were not sorry to be supported by a princess destined to become their queen. Every one knows that women, though but weak instruments in solid affairs, often act a dangerous part in intrigues. The king could not be ignorant of this, but he was so weak as never to be able to resist, nor personally to contradict her, though she made no scruple publicly to shew that she did not always conform to his sentiments. He came to London long before her: she was still in Scotland when I arrived at that city, and James wished she would not have departed from thence so soon, being persuaded that her presence would only be detrimental to affairs. He sent to acquaint her with his desire, and that with an air of authority, which costs nothing to assume against those who are absent, but she was very little affected by it.

† Anne, daughter of Frederic II. king of Denmark, queen of Scotland, afterwards of Great Britain, she died in 1619.

INSTEAD of obeying, the queen prepared to quit Scotland, after having of her own accord, and against the king's express desire, appointed herself a great chamberlain of her household. She was also attended by the earl of Orkney, and another Scotch nobleman; and brought with her the body of the male child of which she had been delivered in Scotland, because endeavours had been used to persuade the public, that its death was only feigned. She also brought with her the prince, her eldest son, whom she in public affected to govern absolutely, and whom it was said, she sought to inspire with sentiments in favour of Spain; for it was not doubted but that she was inclined to declare on that side. Nevertheless, the young prince gave her no room to be pleased with his deference for her: he naturally hated Spain, and favoured France; and this presage was so much the more happy, as from the assemblage of ambition, greatness, and generosity, already perceivable in him, he promised one day to become one of those princes who are the subject of much conversation. He was, from report, acquainted with the character of the king of France, and he proposed making him his model; which was certainly very disagreeable to the queen his mother, who, it was said, had resolved to destroy his French disposition, by having him sent to be educated in Spain.

THUS I have given some account of the state of the court of London, at the time when I began my negotiation. The character of the rest of the principal persons who composed it, will more particularly appear in the ensuing part of these Memoirs. Here therefore I will only add, that besides count d'Aremberg from the arch-dukes, prince Henry of Nassau, and the other deputies from the States-General, whom I found here upon my arrival, the ambassador from his catholic majesty, and the envoys from Sweden † and Denmark, were also hourly expected,

† Christina IV.

and they accordingly arrived the day after me. There were likewise some others, but not of sufficient consequence to be particularly mentioned. Upon the whole, it appeared as though all the princes of Europe considered the gaining England in their interests, to be of the utmost importance to them.

THE first of the foreign ministers whom I saw at the court of London were those of the elector Palatine, who having already made their compliments to the new king, and being prepared to return home, came to take their leave of me, almost immediately after my arrival, but nothing particular passed between us. Soon after they had left me, Cecil sent his principal secretary to be informed by Beaumont, at what hour he might conveniently see me; and he accordingly came in the afternoon. So long as we had any witnesses of our conversation, Cecil talked to me only of the king of England's affection for the king of France, of the desire which he had of giving him proofs of it, and other things in the same strain, which could only be regarded as compliments; nevertheless, when we were in my chamber only with Beaumont, I pretended to consider what he had said as very serious; and this I did to gain an opportunity of representing to him, how highly advantageous an union between the two kings would be to both, and of urging the engagements they had formerly contracted, and the services each had received from the other.

THIS general introduction served me at least to form a judgment of the disposition of the person who spoke to me; and from his reply, I perceived it was not favourable to France. Cecil made me a long harangue, the design of which was, to convince me that his master ought not to meddle in any of the affairs of his neighbours, but leave Holland to act as it should judge proper, in regard to its disputes with Spain. He spoke of Ostend as a place little worth
the

the pains which had been taken to preserve it ; and of the commerce of the Indies, as an advantage, of which, in good policy, the Low Countries ought to be deprived. I opposed these sentiments ; and tho' he seemed convinced by my arguments, he nevertheless appeared very little inclined to enforce them to the king his master. He changed the subject, by informing me, that his majesty was gone to Greenwich, in order to avoid the solicitations which count D'Aremberg would not have failed to make, to obtain his audience before mine, which his majesty could not have refused him, because he had arrived before me, and which, nevertheless, he was not disposed to grant. To this favour, which Cecil gave me to understand was not inconsiderable, he also added that of offering me my audience, which was a second obligation, no less valuable than the former, as all ambassadors were customarily obliged to demand it of the king ; neither was it his fault, if I did not also regard the deputation of such a man as him as a particular mark of respect. I was not, however, deficient in my acknowledgments to the deputy, and I desired he would give himself the trouble to testify my gratitude for it to the king.

NOTWITHSTANDING all the pains this secretary had taken to persuade me, that no one, after the king, had so much power as himself, and that he even governed in the councils of the prince, I thought I perceived the contrary. I likewise imagined, that, fearing lest some of his competitors should deprive him of any of his important employments, he had solicited, and perhaps with great assiduity, of the king his master, that of treating with me, wherein he acted as if he thought himself degraded by the execution of it. La-Fontaine, and the deputies of the States-General, who entered just as Cecil went out, were, from his behaviour, of the same opinion ; and this did not appear to us an unfortunate circumstance, no more than the observation

tion which they had made, that since James had been informed of my departure from France to London, he had begun to treat them with more kindness; having before then refused both to see or speak to the prince of Nassau, and even publicly given the States the epithet of "seditious rebels." These deputies began to persuade me, that the king of France ought not only to inspire the king of England with more favourable sentiments in regard to them, but should openly declare himself their defender. They had much more to say on this head, but it was late, and supper was on the tables; I therefore dismissed them, with general assurances that they should be satisfied.

I GAVE them a more positive answer to Barnevelt † their principal, when he came to see me at the palace of Arundel, of which I was now in possession. Barnevelt, like his colleagues, began by magnifying the miseries to which the United Provinces were reduced, the expences they had been at since the peace of Vervins, their debts, and their exhausted condition. He said the States could no longer keep Ostend, nor resist the Spaniards, unless the king of France caused a powerful army to march without delay, and either through the frontiers of Picardy, or the territories belonging to the arch-duke, enter Flanders from the land-side, which was the only means of forcing the Spaniards from before Ostend, having proved, they said, by experience, that the Spaniards could easily destroy, one after the other, all the little succours that were sent them by sea, and that immediately on their landing. After all these complaints, he concluded, as his colleagues had done, that Henry ought to declare himself their protector, and enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with them.

I TOLD Barnevelt, in plain terms, that he must renounce any such hopes; for that Henry was not at

† John d'Olden de Barnevelt, lord of Tempel.

all disposed, through complaisance for them, to draw upon himself the whole force of Spain, nor alone to support the burden of a war, in which, supposing the king of England should refuse to be concerned, he could not expect to have the advantage. For this reason, I told him, as was really the case, that I could neither take any resolution, nor say any thing positive to them, till I had at least sounded the dispositions of this prince with regard to them. Barneveldt having been at London for a considerable time, might reasonably be supposed to have acquired some knowledge of the king, I therefore asked him what discoveries he had made? He replied, that this prince, having from the first been inclined to peace, both by the advice of his counsellors, and his own passive disposition, had long deprived them of all hopes; but, having apparently reflected that this peace would cost England dear, if by his inaction the Flemish should return under the dominion of the Spaniards, or should be obliged, in order to free themselves from it, to accept that of France; and having perhaps been made sensible what even England had to fear from a power, who, without any regard to justice, attempted whatever seemed for its conveniency, when all other objects became insufficient to satisfy its unbounded desire. These considerations seemed to have thrown James into a state of perplexity, out of which he had probably not yet extricated himself; for he had said nothing more to them, than that he would not separate himself from France; on the contrary, that he only waited the arrival of the French ambassador, to unite more closely with Henry, by concluding a double marriage between the two families.

THESE informations which I received from Barneveldt would have dissipated part of my fears, had the king of England been one of those princes on whom one could depend: but in all this, with respect to himself, I could only perceive dissimulation,
or,

or, at best, irresolution; for those of his ministers whom I had reason to believe were best acquainted with the secrets of his councils, upon every occasion constantly said, that all endeavours to inspire them with a dread of Spain would be vain, the situation of their island protecting them against the enterprises of any foreign power whatever. It would indeed have been highly imprudent in the States and Barnevelt to have judged any otherwise, or have deferred taking measures to prevent their final ruin, till James had taken his resolution; and I believe the States were too good politicians to have committed such a mistake. In consequence of this opinion, which I communicated to Barnevelt, I conjured him, by all the interest of his country, not to conceal from me any of the most secret resolutions which had been there taken, upon a supposition that England would abandon them, or even, which was but too likely, that she would endeavour to augment their distress, by taking this opportunity to demand the cautionary towns offered to Elizabeth.

BARNEVELT finding himself pressed, and considering me as the confidant of a prince who was the only true friend to his country, no longer hesitated to discover all to me: and after having intimated the merit of so important a secret, he informed me, that the council of the United Provinces had resolved, at all events, to avoid giving up the cautionary towns; that the terms of their treaty with Elizabeth would furnish them with the means of doing this, by the time which might be required to examine the tenor of it; that in case they found themselves too closely pressed by the English and Spaniards, they would endeavour to bring upon the carpet the treaty of Brunswic and Vandrep, offering Ostend to be sequestrated till the conclusion of the treaty; that during this interval, some event might perhaps happen in their favour, and thus, at least for the present, a

stop be put to the powerful forces preparing in Spain against Ostend.

IN order to understand what is here said of the treaties with Elizabeth and Spain, it is necessary to know, that the late queen of England had demanded of the States certain towns †, as a security for the money which she had lent them, with this gracious clause in their favour, that they should not give her the possession of them, unless they entered into an accommodation with Spain without her consent. As to the other treaty, it was proposed, in the height of the hostilities between Spain and the United Provinces, to put the contested countries under the power of the house of Austria; not the branch which reigned in Spain, but that which possessed the empire of Germany. But whether the States or Spain, or, which is most probable, both, were the cause of it, the treaty that was begun by the duke of Brunswick, and continued by count Vandrepel, came to nothing: the former demanded, that the provinces and towns which Spain still preserved, or had regained in Flanders, should be comprehended in the treaty, because, said they, they risked too much by being so near the power of Spain, who taking advantage of a pretended peace, might easily regain possession of what she appeared to abandon; and the latter could not but with regret think of separating so brilliant a gem from her crown.

IN the afternoon of this day, I was visited by the resident from Venice, who was the secretary of that republic: he was as free and unreserved in his discourse with me as Barneveldt had been; for his state was in the same situation of jealousy and complaints against Spain, and of union with France: he further confirmed to me what I had before strongly suspected, of the irresolution of James: he told me, that this prince, who so often and so loudly repeated the

† Fleissingue and Brille,

high sounding words "the policy of Europe," did, in reality, concern himself with nothing less; and that his dissimulation, which his flatterers complimented in him as a virtue, had always consisted in giving hopes to all, but accomplishing none; that it was not to be expected he would change his maxims, having frequently been heard to say, that it was to such an artful conduct alone he owed his security when king of Scotland; and therefore it was highly probable that he would again put those arts in practice, and pursue them more steadily than ever, at the beginning of a reign, and at the head of a great kingdom, whose people, affairs, and neighbours, he was utterly unacquainted with: all which were circumstances favourable to his maxim.

THESE reflections of the Venetian were at once sensible and just. He afterwards informed me of the duke of Bouillon's proceedings with the new king, whom, by the envoys from the elector Palatine, he had solicited to speak to Henry in his favour: but James stopped them by saying, that it did not become a great prince to intercede for a rebellious subject. After this mortifying reply, I know not what were Bouillon's thoughts of that scheme which had been concerted between La Tremouille, D'Entragues, Du-Plessis, and himself, and had bore in their opinions so favourable an aspect: this scheme was to make the king of England protector of the calvinist party in France, and the elector Palatine his lieutenant. Bouillon's agent in London was an Englishman named Wilem, who had entered into his service after having quitted that of his majesty, to whom he had been huntsman, and one of his grooms of the chamber, known under the French name of Le Blank. D'Entragues' agent was named Du-Panni: he was very frequently at Beaumont's, and his principal correspondence was with the duke of Lennox and his brother. Henry had informed me of all these particulars in his letters, and having by

his order made enquiries concerning them, I found they were exactly true. D'Entragues was certainly in the right thus to negotiate by others ; for had he appeared at London, he would soon have been discovered to be a man of many words and but little understanding. The testimony which I on all occasions bore to this truth, did not advance his affairs.

THE same day also count d'Aremberg sent one of his retinue to wait upon me, excusing his not coming himself, as custom did not permit such visits till after he had received his first audience of the king. All that passed between me and this nobleman consisted in compliments, offers of service, and assurances of peace and friendship, in all which nothing was wanting but sincerity.

THE king of England, who had before acquainted me that he would grant me an audience on the twenty-second, which was Sunday, sent a gentleman to confirm it to me, to desire I would not think the time tedious, and to be informed how I was lodged, and whether I wanted any thing. To this favour was also added the present of half a buck, which, as this prince informed me by the bearer, was the first he had ever taken in his life, though he was a great lover of the chace ; the reason was, there was none in Scotland. From hence he took occasion to make Henry a compliment, by saying that he attributed his good fortune to the arrival of a man, who came from a prince that was looked upon to be the king of hunters. I replied, that this conformity of inclination in their majesties was to me a presage of their personal union, unless a jealousy of the chace should prevent it ; that, in this case, I would take the liberty to offer myself as arbiter between their majesties, being so disinterested and indifferent in this article, that when the king my master made a party for the chace, he was so far from thinking, like the king of England, that my presence would contribute to its success,

success, that he generally sent me to pursue other affairs in the cabinet, where, he said, I was more happy. Though there was nothing serious in all this, I was nevertheless glad of the opportunity that was afforded me to insinuate myself into his British majesty's favour, and with this view I turned my compliment in such a manner as might please the self-complacency of James, who, I very well knew, was extremely flattered by any comparison with the king of France. I returned the compliment which count d'Aremberg had paid me, and, at the same time, sent him half my present.

ONE part of the orders I had given with regard to the ceremony of my audience, was, that all my retinue should appear in mourning, to execute with propriety the first part of my commission, which consisted in complimenting the new king on the death of Elizabeth, though I had been informed at Calais, that no one, whether ambassador, foreigner, or English, was admitted into the presence of the new king in black; and Beaumont had since represented to me, that what I intended would most certainly be highly disagreeable to the court, where so strong an affectation prevailed to obliterate the memory of that great princess, that she was never spoke of, and even the mention of her name industriously avoided.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have been sensible of the necessity I was laid under of appearing in a garb, which would seem to cast a reproach on the king and all England: but my orders hereupon were positive, not to mention that they were almost laudable; and this was the reason I paid no regard to Beaumont's representations, who entreated me to defer putting myself to this trouble and expence, till he had wrote about it to Erskine and some others, who were best acquainted with the court ceremonial. He wrote accordingly, but received no answer on Thursday, Friday, nor even all day on Saturday; and I still persisted in my resolu-

tion, notwithstanding the reasons which he continually gave me to the contrary. On Saturday night, which was the evening of the day preceding my audience, and so late that I was in bed, Beaumont came to tell me, that Erskine had sent to acquaint him, that the whole court considered my intention as a premeditated affront; and that I had so offended the king by it, that nothing would more effectually prevent the success of my negotiation, from its very commencement. This information agreeing with those of my lord Sidney, the viscount de Saraot, La-Fontaine, and the States deputies, it was impossible for me to be in doubt about it; and, through fear lest a greater evil should ensue, I caused all my retinue to change their apparel, and provide themselves others as well as they could. Lawkener coming the next morning to inform me that I should be presented to the king at three o'clock in the afternoon, I perceived, from the satisfaction which he expressed at the new orders I had given, that it was indispensably necessary to vanquish my repugnance; nevertheless, it publicly gained me almost as much honour, as if I had persisted in my intention, because none were ignorant that I had complied only through absolute necessity.



B O O K XV.

THE king of England's guards, with the earl of Derby at their head, came to attend me from the palace of Arundel, and escorted me to the Thames, whose banks they lined whilst I went down to Greenwich. This passage I made in the king's barges, being attended by one hundred and twenty gentlemen, selected from my whole retinue. Upon my landing, I was received by the earl of Northum-

Northumberland, who, through an infinite number of people, conducted me to the king's palace.

I ENTERED into a chamber, where we were presented with a collation, though contrary to an established custom of England, never to treat ambassadors, nor even to offer them a glass of water. His majesty having sent to desire my appearance in his presence, I was above a quarter of an hour before I could get to the foot of his throne, occasioned both by the great numbers that were already there, and because I made all my retinue walk before me. The prince no sooner perceived me than he descended two steps, and would have descended them all, so very desirous he appeared to receive and embrace me, had not one of his ministers, who stood next him, whispered softly in his ear, that he ought to go no farther. "If, said he aloud, I shew this ambassador particular marks of honour, and such as are contrary to custom, I mean not thereby to give a precedent to others. I particularly love and esteem him for the affection which I know he has for me, for his firmness in our religion, and his fidelity to his master." I dare not repeat all that he said to my advantage. I received so obliging a favour with all due respect; and replied, not by an harangue, such as some may, perhaps, expect to see here, and with which court-pedants would be more pleased; but only by a compliment, which, in reality, comprehended as much, and was more suitable to my situation. Henry's affliction for the death of Elizabeth, his joy for the accession of James to the throne of England, the praises of the two kings; all these I comprised in very few words. I excused myself from my want of rhetorical abilities, and from his most Christian majesty's having himself explained his sentiments in his letters, which I at the same time presented, distinguishing to his Britannic majesty, that which Henry had wrote with his own hand. He read them himself, and then gave them to Cecil; expressing

pressing, at the same time, how sensible he was of their contents, by these words, "That he had not left in Scotland the ardor with which he had always loved the king of France, and desired the prosperity of his crown." I continued to compliment his majesty, though in the style of common conversation; for that of haranguing was extremely disagreeable to me. I said, that Henry had given public demonstrations of his joy, on seeing the throne of England filled by a prince who was so worthy of it, and for his having been so readily and universally acknowledged; that if there had been occasion for the presence of his most Christian majesty, he would have given proofs of his sincere attachment to his interests, and union with his person, and have come with pleasure to any place where his presence might have been necessary. I did not repent my having made this compliment. James replied, that if he had even found the English at war with the French, his endeavours would, nevertheless, have been to live in peace with a prince who, like himself, had been called from the crown of Navarre to that of France: "It being always commendable, said he, to overcome evil with good." But that he had had the double satisfaction, of quitting a crown in friendship with France, for another that was not less so. The late queen was mentioned on this occasion, but without one word in her praise.

AFTER this, his majesty being desirous to discourse longer and more familiarly with me, he made me ascend all the steps leading to the throne. I took this occasion to make my particular compliment, for which he thanked me with an air of sincerity and affection. He did not conceal from me the information which he had received from Paris, of the discourses attributed to Henry, to me, and to my brother, after his return from Scotland: he confessed that he had for some time believed them, but that he had at last discovered the whole to be only an arti-

tifice of their common enemies, who, by using such means to open themselves a passage to universal monarchy, had rendered themselves much more odious to him. He exclaimed in very severe terms against the Spaniards, which could not but give great pleasure to Nassau, who was near enough to hear something of what was said; and also to the Flemish deputies, who were present, tho' incognito, having not yet been able to obtain audience. He spoke of their endeavours to kindle the flames of war amongst their neighbours with the greatest abhorrence; protested that he would oppose their unjust designs; and talked of the king of Spain, as a man too weak both in body and mind to think of the great chimeras of his predecessors. The pleasure which I received from this discourse was sufficient to make me desirous of continuing it. I told the king of England, that he was extremely happy in being so well acquainted with the character of the Spaniards only by the experience of others, but that it was not so with the king of France: to prove which, I instanced what they had done since the conclusion of so solemn a peace as that of Vervins; the revolt of Biron, the war of Savoy, and some other grievances. I added, that such was the artifice of the Spanish councils, that to put the change upon Europe in regard to its injuries, they always began by complaining first: which conduct was equally dangerous and detestable with that which they usually practised, of treating with their neighbours only with the premeditated intention of deceiving them, even by that security which treaties ought to give. James replied, that all this he knew very well. In a word, I could no longer doubt, that the resentment which he shewed against Spain, before so many witnesses, was as sincere as it was violent. From this moment the first dawn of hope began to appear in my favour.

The king of England changed this subject to that

of hunting, for which he discovered an extravagant passion. He said, that he knew very well I was no great lover of the chace; that he had attributed the late success of his sport to me; not as marquis of Rosny, but as ambassador from a king who was not only the greatest prince, but the greatest hunter in the world: and added very politely, that Henry was in the right not to carry me to the chace, because I was of greater service to him elsewhere; and that if I pursued the chace, the king of France could not. I replied, that Henry loved all the exercises, but that none of them made him neglect the care of his affairs, nor prevented him from a close inspection into the proceedings of his ministers; being far from that blind credulity which the king of Spain had for the duke of Lerma. Hereupon James said that without doubt I had found it very difficult to regulate the finances, and resist the importunities of the great men of the kingdom: and of this he produced some instances, of which I had lost the remembrance. He then suddenly asked me as it were by interrupting himself, how the king of France did? I judged, from the manner in which this question was asked, that endeavours had been used to persuade this prince, that Henry, since his late indisposition, could not live long; that he had given credit to it; and that this opinion would be the most powerful motive to prevent his union with France, as he could have but little dependance upon a minor king. I endeavoured therefore to undeceive him, in regard to all these false reports, and succeeded. But he further said, that he had been told one thing in regard to Henry, for which he was extremely sorry; and this was, that his physicians had forbid him the chace. To this I replied, that such advice was, perhaps, what he himself would do well to pursue. In reality, James had but lately narrowly escaped breaking his arm in the chace, the manner of which accident he had related to me.

WHEN

WHEN I acquainted Henry with this part of our conversation, he, in his answer, ordered me to tell the king of England, that in pursuance to the advice of his physicians, he was more moderate in his hunting than he used to be, and that since my departure he had been at the death of five or six stags without the least inconvenience. "Well," said the king of England to me, still continuing the same subject, "I understand you have sent part of the produce of my sport to count d'Aremberg; and how do you think he received it? I assure you, it was not at all agreeable to him. He says, you sent it only to shew that you was more regarded than he; and he is in the right, for I will surely make some difference between my good brother the king of France, and his masters, who have sent me an ambassador who can neither walk nor talk; he demanded an audience of me in a garden, because he could not walk up stairs into a room." James then asked me, whether the Spanish ambassador, who had been sent to him, had passed through France? and upon my replying that he had: "Spain," said he, sends me an ambassador post, that he may arrive the sooner, and finish ours affairs in post-haste." Thus upon every occasion he inveighed against the Spaniards. Taxis*, courier-major to his Catholic majesty, had, in effect, taken his route through France into Flanders, from thence to repair to London; and this journey he had performed with great expedition, though his orders extended no farther, than merely to discover the intentions of the king of England. The real ambassador was Velasco†; constable of Castile, who soon followed him.

AFTER all this, James asked me (for he did not dwell long upon one subject) whether I went to the

* John Taxis count of Villa-Mediana.
Velasco duke of Frias.

† John Ferdinand de

protestant church in London? Upon my replying that I did: "Then, said he, you are not resolved, as I have been informed, to quit our religion, after the example of Sancy, who thought by that condescension to make his fortune; but, by God's providence, did just the contrary." I treated this report as a calumny, and said, that my living in France in friendship with so many ecclesiastics, and being so frequently visited by the pope's nuncio, might perhaps have given rise to it. "Do you give the pope the title of Holiness?" said James. I replied, "That to conform to the custom established in France, I did." He was then for proving to me that this custom was an offence against God, to whom alone this title could justly belong. I replied, that I supposed that a greater crime was not hereby committed, than by the frequent giving to princes such titles as they were well known not to deserve. He spoke to me of Du-Plessis, and appeared somewhat concerned for his fortune and present condition: he said, that I ought not entirely to forget him; that it was true, he had been greatly to blame, to publish his last book under his own name; because, by the titles which he therein gave himself, he obliged the king of France to take notice of it; but that this ought not to obliterate the remembrance of the services which he had rendered the protestant religion. He said not a word to me, either of Holland, or the duke of Bouillon; but he highly approved Henry's chastisement of the duke of Savoy, who was, he said, an ambitious and turbulent man.

I THINK I have omitted nothing of any consequence of what was said to me by the king of England, in this my first audience. When he was inclined to put an end to it, he entered into his cabinet, saying, it would be time for me to go to supper, and to my repose. Upon my coming out of the chamber, I was accosted by admiral Howard, lord Mountjoy, and Stafford, and the great chamberlain.

Erskine,

Erskine, in conducting me cross the court of the palace, spoke to me of his attachment to his most Christian majesty, and his desire of being ranked amongst the number of my friends. The earl of Northumberland, who had received me at my landing, and who again attended me to the river upon my departure, said pretty near the same to me: no one amongst the English lords has more understanding, capacity, courage, nor possesses more authority, than he: he manifested a great desire to have a private conversation with me upon the present affairs. I gathered from what he said, though he did not speak in plain terms, that he was not satisfied with the government; that he blamed the greatest part of the king's actions; in short, to say it in a word, that he had no great share either of fidelity or esteem for James. It is not necessary to say with what reserve and circumspection I listened to such discourse.

THE open declaration which the king of England had made against Spain, had given me some hopes that the court of London would be insensibly prejudiced against that court. In the interval between my first and second audience, several things happened which increased these hopes. An English catholic, who was likewise a jesuit (as was first reported) was seized in the habit of a poor traveller, and being questioned, he confessed that he had disguised himself in this manner, to deliver the catholic church from the oppression of the new king of England, unless he re-established the Romish religion in his dominions solely, or at least with privileges equal to those enjoyed by the protestants, and unless he likewise declared himself against the protestants of Holland; that eight other jesuits had conspired with him in this design, and that they had actually dispersed themselves in different parts of London, in order to embrace an opportunity that might offer to destroy this prince. But the report was false, in regard to the person of this suspected Englishman, for
he

he was not a jesuit*, but only a seminary priest. Had the truth of all the other circumstances been equally well discovered, probably the whole affair would have been reduced almost to nothing; but this was not done. James, according to his character, taking umbrage immediately, imagined that the reason count d'Aremberg deferred demanding his audience, was not on account of his indisposition, which was dissembled, and that he only waited till the supposed conspirators had accomplished their design, or at least till by their intrigues in the kingdom they had occasioned a revolution, which would have released him from his obligations to wait on the king at court.

It is inconceivable to what a length this frivolous suspicion was carried. The queen was at the same time coming to London: this, said they, was to favour the Spanish faction; which so disturbed James, that he immediately sent the earl of Lennox expressly to forbid that princess to continue her journey: but whether the earl could not, or whether he rather chose not to succeed in his commission, the queen did not obey. Lennox was recalled, and the king remained only the more perplexed. After his example, his ministers, courtiers, and particularly the old court, being prejudiced in favour of the maxims of the preceding reign, began to shew themselves greatly disgusted both with the queen and with Spain. They called to mind the conduct and policy of Elizabeth, who had lived in a perpetual mistrust of the court of Madrid. And now they lavished upon her those praises of which they had been before so sparing, and seemed displeased with themselves at the indifference they had shewn to her memory; nor must I forget that it was not without doing violence

* Thuanus, no more than M. de Sully, charges the jesuits with having any concern in this conspiracy, which is the same that will be mentioned below.

to myself, that I refrained following such a general example.

I BELIEVE the Spanish faction, during all this, was in no little pain; for instead of talking, as before, only of peace and neutrality with all the world, nothing was now more common than to hear it said, that so far from having any dependence on what Spain called her friendship and alliance, it was not even safe to contract with her; that the ambassador of this court had not dared to present himself in London, and that most certainly he could not come thither, for fear of becoming the object, and perhaps the victim, of the public indignation. The conduct of his Catholic majesty was compared with that of his most Christian majesty. Henry's procedure appeared so open and ingenuous, and so far from all deceit, that it carried conviction with it: he, said they, would never have sent into England the man who, of all others in his kingdom, was most necessary to him, to machinate a deceit unworthy of them both: nor would I myself, in quitting the court, have thereby left an open field to the malignity of my enemies, only to come and act one of those characters, whose conclusion is generally that of beholding one's self at once both dishonoured and sacrificed to the public indignation. In short, if an union between the two crowns, which I proposed, was not in all respects the best conduct that they could pursue, it was at least the safest; for what would Spain be able to do, when the two confederate kings should consider all dangers which might happen to either, as equally common to both? It was thus that they sometimes reasoned in the council, and in the presence of the king of England, very much to the satisfaction of those counsellors who were in our interests, and who neglected no opportunity of gaining the prince in their party. My lord Mountjoy, whom I had made my intimate friend, on account of the almost public profession

5

which

which he made of attachment to France, here used his utmost interest and endeavours.

BUT all this only dissipated part of my fears; I perceived so many other obstacles, that they almost entirely discouraged me; what I might expect from the queen only scarce appeared surmountable. My apprehensions from the secretary Cecil, were but little inferior to those from the queen. He was at this time separated from his former friends, and had united with the Scots. I endeavoured to penetrate into the real motives of this separation; for I was strongly persuaded of the insincerity of this subtle minister's proceedings. Perhaps his hopes might be in time to become head of the Scotch party, and afterwards to unite it with the English, whom he might have abandoned only in appearance; but these Scotch lords were so difficult to manage, and so much upon their guard against the English, that he could not but be baffled notwithstanding all his efforts; and he was himself too penetrating not to be perfectly sensible of it. Accordingly it was said (and when I became acquainted with the arts of this minister I was myself of the same opinion) that he had sought the Scots, who were real confidants and favourites of his majesty, only to make himself known, and render himself necessary to this prince; that, having succeeded thus far, he knew perfectly well how to center all power in himself, and, making use of the king's name and authority, would silence the queen, the English, and even the Scots themselves, or at least would leave to those he should judge proper only some faint shadow of favour, and would then reassume his real character. And what is most remarkable, it was not unlikely that this subtle man was himself the dupe of the Scots, who pretended to be such to him; for is it possible that Cecil, known in England by every one to be the most ambitious and most tenacious of power of all men, should remain unknown only to them?

But

But no doubt they all knew that the prince's ear was not alone sufficient to maintain them at the head of affairs, with which they were not in the least acquainted, and of which the secretary only could give them the best information.

SUPPOSING also that the Scottish party was undoubtedly firm in the interests of France, there still remained a material doubt, whether so haughty a people as the English would submit to be governed by foreigners, and more especially by the Scots, who at all times had been the object of their aversion: and besides, it was far from being certain that the Scots would always continue to possess the king's favour; for the regard which he already began to shew to the earl of Essex, Southampton, and my lord Mountjoy, plainly proved that they might easily lose their influence. Lastly, to increase this unpromising aspect, the two kings of Sweden and Denmark, whose representations might have been of great weight in determining this prince, and who had hitherto been so unanimous with Henry, that they had concurred in all his designs, now either did it not at all, or did it with such indifference, that their example was far from inspiring a proper resolution. In the frequent conferences which I had with their ambassadors, in presence of the earl of Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Erskine who was present, three times, as being a common friend, they made me the fairest speeches imaginable; their aversion for Spain appeared equal to mine; they even proceeded so far as to draw up a kind of scheme, whereby they ratified whatever Henry might do for all of them, even in regard to the division of conquests, which they agreed might easily be performed by means of a firm and durable union. But our conference being ended, they no longer remembered any of their promises, and beheld nothing but obstacles, in regard to which in my presence they had kept a profound silence. A
strange

strange behaviour this ! from whence, however, I made some discovery of what sort of men I had to deal with.

My lord Mountjoy told me one day in confidence, that he had been present at a meeting of these ambassadors, wherein only those of his majesty's council and the Sates-deputies were admitted ; that here, instead of labouring mutually to strengthen themselves in laudable resolutions, each of them had only sought to draw himself out of the affair. He gave me an account of their deliberations. The Danish deputy represented, that indeed his master possessed a great extent of territory, but for the most part barren, and, by the inconveniency of its situation, rather expensive than profitable ; that the submission and tractableness of the people was an advantage of no use to the king his master, because, from the prodigious variation of their manners and customs, he could neither understand them, nor could they understand one another ; and that he was now actually engaged in endeavours to establish a general and uniform regulation among them, which did not permit him to be concerned in any other enterprise. The Swede said, it would be highly imprudent for his master to engage in a foreign war, because his nephew, the king of Poland, had not yet forgot his pretensions to the crown of Sweden, but on the contrary, seemed disposed to renew them with more vigour than ever ; so that the preservation of his own dominions might probably find him sufficient employment. Barnevelt, in the name of the rest of his brethren, explained himself in a manner so different from his usual complaints, that, I confess, I am at a loss to conceive what could be the intention of so strange a procedure : he spoke of Spain only with contempt ; in the revolt of the Spaniards, and the forces of the Sates, he found resources sufficient to preserve them from all oppression ; he seemed no longer to despair of the success of Ostend as formerly,

ly, and intimated, that his masters had conceived a design which would more than indemnify them for that loss, supposing it should happen. The English ministers taking their text from a saying of the king of England, That every new king if he had the smallest degree of good conduct, ought at least to let a year and a day pass before he made any innovation, though of the smallest consequence; concluded unanimously, that it would be most prudent to wait, and they remained firm to this determination. If we consider these geniuses of the North † with some little attention, we shall perceive they constantly preserve some affinity with the nature of their climate; they have but little vigour of thought, few resources in their imagination, little constancy in their resolutions, and not the least tincture of good policy. The example of Elizabeth is an exception to this rule, and is so much the more glorious to that great queen.

I now only wanted to be as well acquainted with the Spanish councils, as I was with those of Britain and the North; or, in other words, I wanted only to know what were the real designs of that crown, what propositions she had already made to the king of England, how they had been received, and finally, what steps she intended to take for the accomplishment of her desires; for barely to understand that the king of Spain sought to detach England from France and the Low Countries, was knowing nothing, or at most very little. It was suspected that Spain meditated something of much greater importance; this might be conjectured from the information which I had already received from the canon at Canterbury; and it appeared so much the less to be neglected, because Aërsens and Barnevelt both at the same time affirmed the certainty of it, the one at

† The times are changed; and I do not doubt if the author had lived in our days, but he would have done justice to the wisdom and policy of some of the Northern powers.

Paris, the other at London. I therefore used my utmost endeavours to come at the truth. What I was told by my lord Cobham and Sir Walter Raleigh was conformable to this information: but what made the greatest impression upon me was, that the earl of Northumberland, whom I had gained by the offer of a considerable pension, under the name of a present, with great secrecy, one night when I was going to bed, sent his secretary to acquaint me with the following particulars.

FROM the moment king James ascended the throne of England, said his secretary, the king of Spain has not ceased to solicit him, either by his own agents, or those of the archdukes, or by the English catholics, to enter into an offensive and defensive alliance with him, against France and the United-Provinces, whom he calls their common enemies. He has omitted nothing which might persuade him that both of them, but more especially that his Britannic majesty, had a title so clear and incontestable to several provinces in France, that it would be shameful in him not to make use of it, at a time when the exhausted condition of that kingdom presented so fair an opportunity: and the means proposed by Spain to secure the success of this interprise, were, that James and his catholic majesty should, at the same time, demand of France the restitution of Normandy, Guienne, and Poitou, for the king of England; Bretagne, and Bourgogne, for the king of Spain; and, upon a refusal, to fall upon these provinces with all their united forces. His Catholic majesty for this purpose, has even offered to draw all his forces out of the Low Countries, moreover to renounce all his pretensions upon the United-Provinces, and grant them that liberty which they so ardently desire, upon a supposition, however, that, in consideration of this favour, they would consent to strengthen the league by joining it, and by concurring in all their designs. The king of
England

England having made no answer to all these great offers, farther than by saying, that they were premature, and that he chose to begin his reign by gaining a knowledge of all his new subjects, and by strengthening himself upon the throne, Spain easily perceived that this reply was a civil refusal; and James not being disposed by open force to attempt the recovery of his antient possessions; Spain then turned her endeavours to persuade this prince, at least to favour the French provinces in their design (of which she informed him) to erect themselves, after the example of Switzerland, into an independent republic. All this has been represented to James to be extremely easy to effect. It has been said, these provinces impatiently waited a favourable opportunity to shake off their insupportable yoke; the Spanish emissaries, seconding these dispositions, have every where reported that it only depended on themselves, whether they would enjoy a profound tranquillity without taxes, subsidies, or military garrisons, under shelter of the two crowns their protectors, and that they had no cause to apprehend either the resentment of Henry, or the violences of his troops, because care would be taken at the same time to involve him in so many other perplexities, that he would be under a necessity of suffering them to prescribe their own laws. We do not yet hear, added the secretary of the earl of Northumberland, what James replied to this second proposition; we conjecture that it was not more favourably received than the former, because the Spanish emissaries, in their conferences with his Brittannic majesty, have several times been obliged to change their system, or successively to repeat the same again with different modifications. Sometimes they have offered him the whole force and all the treasures of Spain, to use them against France in whatever manner he should judge proper, without requiring any thing more in return, than that he should conclude

no treaty without their consent, nor should concern himself in any manner in their quarrel with Flanders; at other times, they have descended only to desire that he would give no assistance to the United-Provinces.

In the whole of what was here related to me was true, from thence might be concluded that France, without knowing it, was actually in the most imminent danger, because a single word of approbation from king James would have drawn upon her a most terrible storm. But for my own part I confess, that to me this appears so extravagant and so much beyond the bounds of probability, that, from whatever places it might come confirmed, I cannot believe that Spain would ever think of proposing to king James any thing like the first propositions which are here related. Supposing all difficulties were removed between Spain and England, in regard to the armament and the partition, which, however, would be no inconsiderable discussion, yet had they well considered how many other difficulties would arise from a difference of religions, interests, manners, and customs, both between themselves and with the French provinces which they supposed conformable to their sentiments.

THAT article which concerns the United-Provinces, alone destroys the whole of this project. If Spain began by endeavouring to subject them, this crown and that of England could not be ignorant that such an enterprise was alone capable to destroy, or at least for a considerable time to prevent the execution of their common designs, because France, being once convinced that her own safety depended on the prevention or retarding of this conquest, would have considered assisting the states as defending herself: and if Spain proposed to gain these provinces in her interests, she should herein have been more grossly deceived;
for

for no offer, not excepting even that of liberty, would have been able to reconcile them with their most mortal enemy, much less to incline them to assist her in her conquests, and that too of their ancient and only ally. . . . I am not ignorant of the manner in which the States deputies have always thought; they upon all occasions have constantly said, that Spain deceived them, that England trifled with them, and that France alone was favourably disposed towards them; and if sometimes they have talked in a different manner, as in the conference above-mentioned, it was either to excite the French to make still greater efforts in their favour, or to inspire the English with the sentiments of France in regard to them: besides, will any one believe that Spain would voluntarily relinquish territories, which her own force might acquire?

IN regard to the informations which Henry and I received on this head, neither the canon of Canterbury nor Barneveldt, who with Aërsens must be considered only as one, because the former received his information from the latter, could be sufficiently depended upon; the first might have been deceived, and the second might have sought to deceive us, which deceit was not ineffectual in promoting the success of their affairs. In regard to the three English lords, I was so far from depending upon what they said, that, on the contrary, I suspected they were themselves the sole authors of the whole scheme; that they had concerted it together, and then, with proper alterations, presented it to the king of England, to me, to the States deputies, and to the public, thereby to appear as persons of consequence; which was quite suitable to their characters. In regard to Spain, I made no doubt but she would be pleased to hear such reports spread, and even that she would gladly use her endeavours to make them believed, not with any intention seriously to confer with his Britannic majesty concerning them, nor even

even that they should come to his ears, but only with design to encrease the discord, and augment the number of the seditious in those provinces of France which were interested therein. It was in these terms that I wrote about it to Henry, who sometime considered the whole as an artifice of the States to accelerate a rupture between him and Spain, and sometimes believed it true in regard to Spain; who, from a desire to destroy Henry, and a hope of profiting from the inexperience of James, attempted every thing. I told Henry, that, though all these schemes ought to be treated only as chimerical, it would be proper, nevertheless, to be attentive to whatever passed in Poitou, Auvergne, Limosin, Pays d'Aunis, in short, through all Guienne, in which places they were capable of producing the same bad effects as though they had been true.

THE day after my audience, being the 23d of June, and a day on which his British majesty conferred the honour of knighthood on several persons, he sent to acquaint me, that he would grant me a second audience the day on which I myself had desired it, being Wednesday the 25th; that I should be with him at two o'clock, and bring but few persons with me, in order to prevent the inconveniences caused by great numbers, and, said he, that I may confer with you alone with greater freedom. Upon this occasion, I was accompanied from London to Greenwich by my lord Hume, who, in France, had had the honour of seeing and discoursing with his most Christian majesty. I took some refreshment in the apartment wherein I was conducted to wait till I could be introduced to the king; and here I was accosted by little Edmonds †, who made me a long discourse, in which he complained, that he was not treated so well as his past services, and his know-

† Edmonds had been agent and afterwards ambassador from Elizabeth to Henry IV. during the wars of the league; and he had really acquired a perfect knowledge of the affairs of France.

ledge of the affairs of France, deserved. The earl of Northumberland put an end to our conversation, by coming to require my appearance in the king's apartment.

IMMEDIATELY upon my entrance this prince arose, and, having commanded that no one should follow him, he conducted me through several apartments into a little ordinary gallery, wherein we held our conference. I began it by thanking his majesty for having thus given me an opportunity to disclose myself to him, on the subject of my commission, without reserve, and without witnesses; "Not, said
" I, that the king my master has sent me to require
" any thing of your majesty, but only to be informed
" of your intentions in regard to affairs wherein your
" majesties may both be equally concerned; and that
" the king my master may conform to them, as a
" good brother." The king of England replied, that the manner in which he plainly saw the king of France and I acted, with respect to him, required that he should not conceal any thing from me; and that he would therefore discover to me his most important secrets. He then, in a few words, pretty justly described the present political affairs of Europe; "in
" which, said he, it is necessary to preserve an equi-
" librium between three of its powers," meaning the houses of Bourbon, Austria, and Steuart. He said, that of these three powers, the house of Austria and Spain, from the spirit of dominion with which she was possessed, was the only one who sought to make the balance incline in her favour; that a knowledge of this unjust design was the cause that the king of France and he, though in appearance in peace with that crown, were, however, really thought secretly at war with her; that Spain was not ignorant of it, but that she could not complain, she having herself set them the first example; to Henry by her combination with marechal Biron and the disaffected in France, by the succours she had

given the duke of Savoy when at war with his most Christian majesty, by the enterprize upon Geneva, finally, by several other proceedings of the like nature; to him, by instigating and encouraging the jesuits and the English catholic faction. From hence it appears, that the affair of the jesuit had gained but too much credit with James. But that all this could, by neither side, be considered as sufficient cause for an open war, and, as they were upon equal terms, it would therefore be best to avoid it, by continuing, as before, secretly to favour the enemies of Spain, though with a resolution to pursue more vigorous and effectual measures, in case Spain should herself resolve upon any open rupture.

I VERY highly applauded such laudable sentiments, and indeed they really deserved it; nor could I have said any thing further on the subject, had I not, at the same time, perceived in the person from whom they came a disposition to peace, or rather to indolence and inaction, which in a manner contradicted his words, and seemed to tell me, that, having promised a little, he should perform nothing. This observation induced me to tell his Britannic majesty, that the plan of conduct which he had laid down to be pursued with Spain, was exactly conformable to the sentiments of his most Christian majesty; and that Henry only feared it would be insufficient to prevent their one day feeling the fatal effects of the resentment of that crown, whose character, upon this occasion, I endeavoured to paint to him in the most natural colours. I represented to James every thing which Spain had been accumulating for one hundred years past; the earldoms of Flanders and Burgundy, the kingdoms of Granada, Navarre, and Portugal, the empire of Germany, the states of Naples and Milan, all the Indies, and, but for mere good fortune, France and England also, both these crowns owing their preservation, next to the firmness of Elizabeth and Henry, only to the lucky

lucky incident of the revolt of the Low Countries ; and I concluded, that as both James and Henry would one day be indispensably obliged to enter into an open war with Spain, in order to sap the foundation of so vast a dominion, it was therefore absolutely necessary now to concert the proper measures for it, that no step might be taken to the contrary ; and that this, together with the means whereby the preservation of the United Provinces might be provisionally secured, was all that I had to desire of his majesty.

“ But, said the king of England, what better assistance would you that the king of France and I
 “ should give the Low Countries, than to comprehend them with us in a general treaty of partition
 “ and pacification between them and Spain, upon
 “ conditions of which we shall ourselves be guarantees ? whereby, should Spain first fail in the observation of them, we shall then have just reason
 “ to take arms against her, and drive her entirely
 “ out of these provinces : and I consent, added he,
 “ upon a supposition that this will be the case, immediately to determine with you, what means
 “ and what forces we shall employ for the execution of it.” James was not sensible of all the objections to this partition-treaty, which he proposed between Spain and the Low Countries ; or if he was, he artfully endeavoured to avoid entering into any engagement with me. The council of Spain would not have failed to appear satisfied with what he proposed, but during the delays which negotiating this treaty would produce, especially with a court whose dilatoriness was one of the chief arts of her policy, Ostend, which was reduced to extremity, would fall into the power of its enemy, and with it a part of Flanders, Holland and Zealand being separated from it ; and Spain would in the mean time strengthen herself in what she did possess, and would be preparing the means for succeeding more effectually in her design of subjecting the rest of this state.

I DESIRED his Britannic majesty to bestow some serious reflection upon the considerations which I had thus laid before him. He remained for some time in silence, and seemed deeply immersed in thought; after which, in a hesitating and irresolute voice, he said, that it must be confessed I was in the right; that the affair was of great consequence; that he had often thought of it; though his reflections had not as yet produced any effect; and that he had waited my coming, to determine him in his resolution. At this moment I penetrated into all which this prince refused to tell me; and I thought I ought not to hesitate attacking him in his inmost recesses: I therefore replied rather to his thoughts than his words, and said, that as often as this affair had been debated in his majesty's council, and as often as he had heard his ministers utter sentiments different from mine, his majesty might easily have been convinced, that they did it only from some motives of self-interest, because there was not the least room for doubt, that one single examination would demonstrate, as evidently as a million, that it was indispensably necessary to prevent the rest of the Low Countries from being subjected by Spain, because, were she to succeed in this, she might, with the same forces, fall very roughly, and without ceremony, upon France and England. Upon this occasion, without exposing these English counsellors so much as I could, by a discovery of part of their intrigues, I so far acquainted the king of England with them, as to make him sensible that I was not ignorant that they had endeavoured to make him turn those forces against France, which I would persuade him to employ against Spain.

JAMES entered of himself into the sentiments with which I wanted to inspire him, with respect to his council: he told me, that he was very far from being of the same opinion with some of his courtiers, in what concerned the antient pretensions of England upon France; that, besides that the present conjuncture

ture and political state of affairs did not permit him to think seriously about them, he also considered these pretended rights as annulled by divine providence, which irresistibly gives and takes away crowns; and by time, whose prescription was more than centenary; which words he repeated several times: that this consideration being of no weight with him, he could therefore previously assure me, that whatever his final resolution might be, at least he would not suffer the United Provinces, nor even Ostend, to come under the dominion of the Spaniards: that for the present I ought not to require any thing farther of him, nor press him to a conclusion, till he had first conferred with two or three of his ministers, whose knowledge, as well as honesty, he was well convinced of; that besides, from the reflections which I had suggested to him, he was now able to distinguish and resist the voice of passion and prejudice: and lastly, that he would in a short time acquaint me with what might be farther necessary for me to know, in regard to his sentiments and final resolution.

I SHOULD have been very glad not to have concluded our conference on this head so soon, but James broke it off, by saying, that he should finish the remainder of it another time, because he wanted now to have some conversation with me concerning the duke of Bouillon. He informed me, that the deputies of the elector of Palatine had strongly solicited him in favour of the duke; but that, not being perfectly well acquainted with the affair, he had refused to concern himself in it at all, through fear lest he should favour a rebel. He desired me to relate to him all the circumstances of it: which I accordingly did very succinctly; so that he had the whole affair before him. James gave me his word, that however he might be solicited by the Palatine, he would never concern himself in it; and said, he wished others would meddle as little in the affairs of the English

catholics. I readily apprehended, by the manner in which he uttered these last words, that they carried with them a kind of reproach.

In order to understand what is here meant, it is necessary to be informed, that some time before the death of Elizabeth the partisans of Spain, having, as usual, the jesuits at their head, had raised disturbances in the three kingdoms of Great Britain. Tho' religion was their pretence, their real views were political, either because the king of Spain, as his flatterers had persuaded him, really believed his rights to the crown of England were so well founded, that after the death of the queen he might openly declare his pretensions, or because he sought to involve the successor of Elizabeth in such perplexities as might prevent his engaging in any thing else. The jesuits, upon this occasion, very imprudently, it should seem, had differed with the English catholic secular clergy: this was chiefly occasioned by their endeavouring to create a certain arch-priest †, which the English catholics would not admit of. The affair was brought before the Pope, who upon this occasion, for reasons of which I am ignorant, neither concurred with those jesuits, nor Spain, but, on the contrary, listened very favourably to the secular clergy, who had deputed three of their body to Rome, having a passport under the hand of Cecil himself: which is a proof that Elizabeth thought she ought to defend the seculars; and also, that she looked upon the others as her real enemies. Henry had been of the same opinion with Elizabeth, and the common interest had

† Cardinal D'Offat, in his letter of the 28th of May, 1601, to M. de Villeroi, says, that at the suggestion of an English jesuit, whose name was father Perfonio (or Parsons) rector of the English college at Rome, and devoted to the king of Spain, if he was so to any, the Pope created in England a certain arch-priest, to whose authority all the ecclesiastics, and even all the other catholics of England, were to be subject. By this means, adds he, it was proposed to have the greater part of the catholics of England under the Pope's influence.

from the first determined him to support the English clergy at the court of Rome against the Spanish cabal.

FROM hence it was that the enemies of France had taken occasion to prejudice James against us †, by insinuating to him, that Henry had supported the English clergy only with design to gain them in his own interests, and that from the same views with Spain. It was not difficult for me to undeceive the king of England in this respect. I represented to him, that Henry having considered, that to prevent the whole body of the catholics of Britain from entering into the Spanish interests, was a point of the utmost consequence; he had therefore been indispensably obliged to appear in their favour upon several occasions; but that he had been so far from having had any thoughts of entering with them into any design prejudicial to his authority, that, on the contrary, his sole intention had been to oppose this common enemy; and that had the catholics departed in the least from their duty, or even appeared so to do, he would from that moment have abandoned them.

JAMES was so fully satisfied with this account, that he acquainted me with the regulations which he meditated in regard to the roman catholics of his kingdom; “from your information, said he, and “with the approbation of Henry.” He had afterwards several opportunities of being convinced that I had not imposed on him, particularly by a letter which the Pope’s nuncio wrote to him from Paris, relating to the English catholics. James answered

† The king of England cannot be considered as blameable for having taken umbrage against France upon that account. The same cardinal gives us to understand, that the political views of the Spanish party were by this means to unite the Pope, the king of France, the king of Spain, and the English catholics, whereby to place a catholic king upon the throne of England. But it is likewise true, that Henry IV. was not only ignorant of this design, but also that he had acquiesced with Elizabeth in quite different purposes. This fact is related in the Septennary, an. 1604.

this letter in a more obliging manner than was usual with the court of London to letters received from the court of Rome ; and being perhaps determined by my reasons, he not only entered into the same views in regard to this affair which good policy had suggested to Henry, but it also seemed probable, that to secure the English catholic party, he would chuse rather to have recourse to the pope and his ministers, than to any foreign prince. The pope, on his side, did not shew himself insensible of this preference † : one Colvil having dedicated a book to him which he had wrote against that prince, when only king of Scotland, his holiness would neither receive the work, nor permit the author to stay in Rome. Henry had acquainted me with this circumstance, that I might, if I thought proper, relate it to the king of England ; and Henry had been informed of it in the letters which my brother wrote to him from Rome.

UPON my departure, at the conclusion of this my second audience, I was informed that this prince was to set out the Monday following to meet the queen ; and I judged, that the audience which his majesty promised to grant me on Sunday the 29th, would, on this account, probably be the last I should obtain ; and, as I was afraid I should not be able to conclude my negotiation in one more, I determined to demand another of him before that on Sunday. James replied, that he could not grant this request, all his time being absolutely engaged till Sunday ; but that he would send his ministers on Friday the 27th, to confer with me and prepare matters.

† We must believe either his holiness had no concern in the political design which I mentioned in the preceding note, as related by cardinal d'Ossat ; or that, perceiving it had miscarried, he had conceived that of gaining, if it were possible, the king of England, who had at first shewn himself so favourably disposed to the catholics, that it was reported he would become so himself ; and that he had only pretended to be of the reformed religion, in order to ascend the throne without opposition.

ACCORDINGLY, on Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, there came to me admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland and Mar, lord Mountjoy, lieutenant-general in Ireland, and the secretary Cecil, who was the speaker. After the first compliments were over, Cecil told me, that the king of England thought he could not better shew his most Christian majesty how sensible he was, both of the uprightness of his intentions, and his ability in the conduct of great affairs, than by wholly relying upon him in all that concerned the relief of Ostend and the support of the States.

I WAS immediately sensible of this secretrary's artifice, and the design of it, in thus construing what I had said to the king of England in a manner different to my real meaning. I replied, that indeed the king my master would have been extremely glad to have had some measures taken in Europe, to prevent the invasions of Flanders by Spain; but that he was so far from having sent me to give law to his Britannic majesty, that he did not himself know what conduct to pursue with regard to the affairs of those provinces, with the true state of which he was not even well acquainted; that it was therefore vain to think of penetrating into what Henry might have determined in his mind as to the States, because, in reality, he had not as yet determined on any thing; that nothing farther could be concluded from what I had said to his Britannic majesty, than that when he should be well disposed towards them, I could engage that the dispositions of his most Christian majesty would not be contrary to his; and, in a word, that I was come about no other design, than to be informed of the intentions of the king and parliament of England.

CECIL replied, that he had no surreptitious design upon me by what he had said, but only to hear my sentiments of the present situation of affairs, and to know whether any expedient had been thought on

in the council of France, to obviate the difficulties which at London this enterprize seemed to be so full of, that it appeared impossible to be executed. He confessed, in setting forth these pretended difficulties, that a pacific agreement between Spain and the Low Countries would, in the present situation of affairs, occasion the loss of these provinces. Then reasoning from the false conclusion, that there was no medium between such an agreement and an open war with Spain, he endeavoured to shew, that the war would be still less agreeable than the peace, to England, which was already exhausted, though at a time too when great expences were requisite in consequence of the coronation: and he concluded yet more peremptorily than before, that France must alone be engaged in the execution of her designs. He added, indeed, that England might in a year be able to second them. The riches and power of France were also a subject which did not escape him. Finally, he attempted, with all the address he was master of, to make me declare, that the king of France, being resolved to make the business of the States his own, desired no other favour of England than that of a neutrality, to which, no doubt, he would give his consent with joy.

I GAVE Cecil to understand, by smiling at his last words, that he had laid this snare for me in vain; and I told him, that, without seriously replying to propositions which I plainly perceived he had made only to give me an occasion of speaking, it was sufficient for me to desire him to take notice of one thing, which he ought to know as well as myself, and this was, that England, by suffering France to act alone for some time before she joined her, instead of laying the foundation of alliance with her, would thereby rather lay the foundation of a rupture, because one would expect to enjoy the conquests which she might make during this time, and the other would doubtless require to partake of them. I addressed myself per-

personally to Cecil, and told him, that, nevertheless, this would not prevent my agreeing with him, in case his proposal for an union with France within a year had been sincere on his part, because the king of France would rather chuse to defer the declaration of war against Spain, which he mentioned, till this time, an open war being altogether as inconvenient to France, in the present situation of her affairs, as it was to England.

UPON this occasion, I thought I ought again to repeat, and in term the most explicit, that I was not come to propose to the English council a declaration of war from the two kings of France and England against Spain; but only to represent, that good policy required them not to suffer the United Provinces to be oppressed for want of succours, which might be given them without disturbing the quiet of the rest of Europe; and to confer with his Britannic majesty upon the nature of these succours, and the other steps to be taken, both at present and in future, in favour of the Flemish. Upon this, the king's counsellors thanked me for the sincerity with which I had spoken; and Cecil, having nothing farther to reply, told me, that he would go and confer with his majesty hereupon; that then he would converse with the deputies of the States about it; and, if I desired it, even in my presence, which I did not think proper to oppose: having said this we separated.

COUNT d'Aremberg, having long deferred from time to time demanding his audience, sent at last to desire the king of England would dispense with it entirely, on account of his indisposition, and that he would only send one of his counsellors to confer with him. James did not appear satisfied with this procedure; he however granted him what he desired, and Cecil was the person charged with this commission. Cecil, who was perfectly well acquainted with the reports current at that time concerning him-

self, being desirous to avoid giving any new cause to vilify him upon this occasion, sought to be excused, and desired that he might, at least, have an adjunct; that is, a witness of his words and actions, though he affected not to receive him in that quality. This fact alone unanswerably proves, that he was far from enjoying that favour which he was desirous the public should believe he absolutely possessed. Kintore, a Scotchman, was the person associated with him.

D'AREMBERG confined himself wholly to compliment, and to the most general terms: when pressed to come to particulars, he replied, that he was a soldier, and had no skill in negotiation; that he was come only to hear what the king of England had to say to him, and that, after him, his master would send a man of business. These words were repeated and spread throughout London, with all the ridicule and contempt they deserved: indeed no ambassador was perhaps ever before guilty of so great an imprudence, nor can one but with difficulty believe it of a people so acute as the Spaniards; it was of great disservice to them in the English council, and brought part of those who composed it to favour me; and if the designs of Spain were not hereby entirely frustrated, which they might have been, it was because this awkward behaviour was repaired by the address of the other partisans of this crown, having Cecil himself at their head, notwithstanding his endeavours to make the contrary be believed; it was even entirely forgot, when it was said that the Spanish ambassador, who began to be no longer expected, would soon arrive. Cecil, no doubt, waited his arrival, to begin the dissipation he was preparing for my projects, and the other counsellors appeared disposed to fall into their former irresolution: I was even informed from good hands, that it not being doubted, but this ambassador would make proposals to his Britannic majesty, accompanied by irresistible offers,

part

part of these counsellors had begun to draw up an account of the debts of France and the States to England, whereby from the sums contained in this account on one side, and the treasures of Spain disbursed in London on the other, nothing might be proof against them.

WHAT was most remarkable in my reception on Sunday the 29th of June, was, that all the gentlemen of my retinue had the honour of being treated with a dinner by his majesty, and I had that of being admitted to his own table. In pursuance of his majesty's directions, I arrived at Greenwich about ten o'clock in the morning, and was present with him at divine service, in which there was a sermon: he said nothing particular to me from the time of my arrival to our setting down to table; the conversation turned almost entirely upon the chase and the weather: the heat was excessive, and much more violent than was usual at London in this month. There were only Beaumont and myself who sat with James at table, where I was not a little surprised to behold that he was always served on the knee: a furtout, in form of a pyramid, was placed in the middle of the table, which contained most costly vessels, and was even enriched with diamonds.

THE conversation continued the same as before, during great part of the entertainment: but an opportunity offering for the king to speak of the late queen of England, he did it, and, to my great regret, with some sort of contempt; he even went so far as to say, that, in Scotland, long before the death of that princess, he had directed her whole council, and governed all her ministers, by whom he had been better served and obeyed than herself. He then called for some wine, his custom being never to mix water with it, and holding the glass in his hand towards Beaumont and me, he drank to the health of the king, the queen, and the royal family of France. I returned him his health, and that too without

without forgetting his children. He inclined himself to my ear when he heard me name them, and told me softly, that the next health he would drink should be, to the double union which he meditated between the royal houses. He had never till now said a single word to me about this; and I thought the opportunity which he had thus taken for it was not extremely well chosen. I failed not, however, to receive the proposal with all possible marks of joy, and replied softly, that I was certain Henry would not hesitate in his choice between his good brother and ally, and the king of Spain, who had before applied to him upon the same subject. James, surprized at what I told him, informed me in his turn, that Spain had made him the same offers of the Infanta for his son, as she had to France for the Dauphin. The king of England appeared to me to be still in the sentiments in which I had left him in our last conference; though he gave me no opportunity of conversing with him in private. He told me, indeed, before all who were present, that he approved every thing that had been done in the last conference between the counsellors and me: that he would not suffer the States to be overwhelmed; and that the next day, the manner in which succours were to be granted them should be settled. For this purpose, he gave orders that his counsellors should, the next day in the afternoon, repair to London, there to conclude the affair with me. I thought these words sufficiently authorised me immediately to put into the hands of his Britannic majesty the form of a treaty, which I had drawn up and brought with me; and this I accordingly did in the presence of his ministers. Having found means, in the course of the conversation, to drop some few complaints of the piracies of the English upon the French, the king said, that this happened contrary to his intentions; and he was even angry with the English admiral, who appeared himself inclined to vindicate what had been done.

At

At last, he quitted the company to go to bed, where he usually passed part of the afternoon, and sometimes even the whole of it.

THE journey which James was to have made: having been prevented or deferred, I hope I should without difficulty, be able to find an opportunity of telling him what I had yet to say; and this gave me some consolation for having done so little this day; For notwithstanding what has here been said of resolutions and succours in support of the States, I was not ignorant that affairs were not as yet brought to the issue which I desired; for the king of England still referred me, for the conclusion of them, to the same persons as before; and these, I very well knew, were not disposed in my favour: nor did Barnevelt and the deputies from hence draw a more happy preface, for they were very far from considering themselves as having succeeded in their offensive and defensive alliance with France and England with which they had sometimes flattered themselves. They resolved to make a final effort with me, that they might at least secure France in their interests.

FOR this purpose Barnevelt repaired to me before any of the others, and after having made me acquainted with his apprehensions in regard to the present situation of affairs, and the effects of the arrival of the Spanish ambassador, which was always said to be very near, he told me, that the Hollanders, being reduced to the lowest ebb of despair, would abandon every thing, and seek an asylum out of their provinces. Barnevelt observed, from my reply, that I was not the dupe of his exaggerations: I told him, that it was the English council, and not I, which was to be persuaded; because I was sufficiently convinced the States were really in a perplexed situation. He endeavoured to prove to me, that if nothing could be obtained of the king of England, good policy required that France should openly and alone espouse the cause of the United Provinces, before their strength

strength and spirits were entirely spent and exhausted. I replied, that he required of me what was not in my power, because I was come to London only, if it were possible, to enter into an association with the English, and in case they refused this, to know their reasons.

AFTER this, we had some discourse about the towns destined for cautionaries. Barnevelt informed me, that Cecil in a conference with Caron, one of the Flemish deputies, had given him to understand, that England, being resolved to maintain peace with Spain, would require Holland to make the cession of those places as a security; and in consequence of this cession, Cecil only promised him, that these towns should be preserved in a strict neutrality, till the payment of the States debt. Barnevelt, who perceived that this affair appeared to me as interesting as it really was, acquainted me, though with all the reserve which ought to be observed by a man entrusted upon oath with the secrets of his council, that the States had put things in such a train, that the council of London would have many difficulties to remove before it could see itself in possession of those places. But from hence he also inferred, in order to gain his point with me, that as the consequence of this would probably be a war between England and the United Provinces, it was therefore for this reason that he pressed me immediately to join the forces of France with theirs, without which there would be no equality between the parties. I confessed to Barnevelt, that I could not blame the resolution of his masters; but that the king of France, upon this occasion, could only lament their situation, not being in a condition to support them with open force against Spain and England together.

IN the afternoon, all the Flemish deputies came in a body to assist in the conference; and soon after them the English counsellors, appointed by his Britannic majesty, also arrived. Cecil being, as usual,
the

the speaker for all of them, began by saying directly, that the king of England was really in the interests of the states. And turning to me, he asked me, whether this was not what I desired; and the real design of my commission? I concealed what I did but too plainly perceive, from this blunt hasty procedure of the secretary; and instead of giving him a direct answer, I addressed myself to the deputies, and told them, that two great kings designing to interest themselves in their affairs, they ought therefore justly to represent the state of them, that from a full and perfect knowledge of their necessity, the succours which they wanted might be ascertained. Barnevelt, as usual, drew a picture of the miseries to which Spain had reduced them; and these he described in as lively and affecting a manner as he possibly could. But to come more immediately to the business, he said, it was necessary that the Spaniards should be driven entirely out of Flanders; and that the States were in hopes of being able to succeed in this in the space of a year, by means which he deduced in the following manner: That the whole force of the United-Provinces amounted to above twelve or fifteen thousand infantry, not including the garrisons, and three thousand cavalry, besides fifty ships actually in a condition to serve, with artillery and ammunition in proportion; that therefore nothing more was necessary, than for the two kings to double these forces, by furnishing an equal number of each as above mentioned.

I WAS apprehensive these propositions would not be received very favourably; and that I might not appear to authorise the deputies in demands which were really too great, I told Barnevelt, that he should have been more careful only to ask what could be granted. I then asked Cecil, in a manner somewhat peremptory, to acquaint me what were the real intentions of his master, in regard to what was here promised to him. Cecil replied, that his Britannic

tannic majesty would have been glad to have maintained himself in a solid and sincere peace with all his neighbours; that, as far as could be judged from the state of France, and from mere appearances, his most Christian majesty was probably of the same sentiments. Nevertheless, that from the remonstrances which I had made to the king of England, this prince was determined to pursue the medium between his own desires and those of the States, that is, he would consent privately to assist the United-Provinces: that perhaps a time might come when more could be done for them, but that at present they must expect nothing farther.

THE deputies, not doubting but this resolution was really fixed, withdrew to confer among themselves upon what had been said by Cecil, who in the mean time continuing his discourse, said, that indeed the king of England was very willing to assist the States, but that he had no desire to ruin himself for them. He avoided entering upon any particulars, in regard to the nature of these pretended succours, that he might not be afterwards answerable for any promises or positive engagements; but he said, that in case Spain should carry her resentment so far as personally to attack the two kings, protectors of the liberty of Flanders, in order to make all things equal on both sides, France must contribute eight thousand infantry and two thousand cavalry, and England one half of that number; and the same rule might be observed in regard to the squadrons which it would be necessary to have upon the coast of Spain, and in the Indies; and he farther declared, that England had no fund to defray the expences of these forces, except the money owing from France, which was to be paid in two years; but that the king of England would willingly sacrifice it for the service of the common cause.

I was extremely dissatisfied at the English secretary's thus endeavouring to avoid coming to any positive

positive agreement, by purposely evading the state of the question, and by raising only anticipated difficulties; but I concealed my indignation as well as I could, and replied, that this was not a subject to be talked of in so vague a manner; that it was above all things necessary, without an equivocation, absolutely to determine what should be done in favour of the United-Provinces, and for the relief of Ostend; that, after this, whether the council of his British majesty might be inclined to a war; or whether it might be forced into one by Spain, there would be many other considerable matters to discuss, in regard to the following suppositions; first, that this crown should attack only one of the two kings, or should attack them both; secondly, that the two kings should declare themselves the aggressors; and, lastly, that they should endeavour to make conquests upon the Spaniards in the Low-Countries.

To make Cecil yet more sensible that he scarce entered at all into the affair, I represented to him, that, in case of the rupture with Spain, which he mentioned, to render the superiority in favour of the two kings, that of France, besides twenty thousand men which he would have in Flanders, would also be indispensably obliged to have the same number upon the frontiers of Guienne, Languedoc, Provence, Dauphiny, and Bresse, not to mention the squadrons of gallies which he must also have to secure the Mediterranean; that it was necessary even now to determine these matters, and to prevent being exposed to a thousand perplexing discussions, sufficient to destroy the harmony between the allied princes.

THEN replying more particularly to what Cecil had said, I told him, I could not conceive for what reasons he was for casting upon the king of France the whole or greatest part of the expence of a war, in which Henry would be only equally concerned with the king of England; that if by such means the

the British council sought to distress Henry, it but ill understood its interests, nor considered that, though an equality of expences should be stipulated, France would certainly have other expences to defray, perhaps even greater than these: such were those for the defence of her coasts and frontiers, which, by diverting part of the enemy's forces, would not be less serviceable to England than to France. I added, that, for all these reasons, I thought the English council took a very improper time to demand the payment of the sum lent to France; that Henry was so far from expecting any such matter, that he had given me no orders about it; that I only knew, from the place which I filled in the council of finances, that his intention was to discharge it by annual payments, as had been agreed with the late queen; and that within the current year he proposed to pay two hundred thousand livres; but again, that the British council took a very wrong method to obtain the payment of this debt, by shewing, from their unreasonable difficulties and suspicions, that their sole view was more and more to exhaust France; which conduct was very malignant, and absolutely opposite to that of Henry, who, in all his actions, manifested nothing but honesty and good faith, and laboured only for the public good.

WHAT I said made not the impression upon my hearers which I desired; on the contrary, the English took fire, and protested, if any thing farther was insisted on, they would abandon the States entirely. Cecil more especially, in this conference, completed his making himself known to me for what he really was; he made use only of double expressions, vague proposals, and false meanings, being perfectly sensible that reason was not on his side. The moderation and sincerity which I opposed to his ill designing subtilties, forced him into contradictions, which, when by a single word I made him feel the ridiculousness of what he said, put him into
con-

confusion. Sometimes thinking to intimidate me, he magnified the forces of England; sometimes he endeavoured to shew the advantages to England of the pretended offers of Spain; he watched opportunities to wrest any words which might drop from me of the deputies to his advantage, and even maliciously supposed that we had said things which we never thought of; he proceeded so far, as to endeavour to raise discord between me and the deputies, by casting upon me the refusal of openly assisting the States: he, and his colleagues by his direction, demanded that France should immediately pay to England, in part of what she owed, forty or fifty thousand pounds sterling; and he told the deputies, that these sums should be employed for the relief of their most pressing necessities, and, upon my refusal, they all said it could be imputed only to me, because, said they, all the money in France was in my disposal. If all the merit of those we usually call able politicians consists in thus endeavouring to ensnare the open and undesigning, and to make these bear the blame of their wickedness, while they at the same time enjoy all the benefits of it, a politician is then truly a very despicable thing. What piqued me the most was to see that these ministers, who were here only to set forth the intentions of the king, impudently substituted their own instead of them; for I knew well, and was firmly persuaded, from the manner in which this prince had talked to them in my presence, that he had given them quite contrary commands.

THE deputies, who had returned, and were present during this, again retired, greatly dissatisfied no doubt, and in more perplexity than before; whereupon Cecil again changed his battery: he said, that since the king of France could not enter into a war but in conjunction with England, the latter could not do it, unless her expences therein were defrayed by France and the States; which neither of them being really able to do, the best conduct therefore
which

which the two kings could pursue, would be to continue to live in friendship, but without intermeddling with any foreign disputes whatsoever. This, probably, was what the secretary really proposed; and, notwithstanding the length and frequency of his discourses, was all he had ever uttered with sincerity.

As I did not think proper to make any reply to this, the English, believing perhaps that they had gained their point with me, said, they would relate to the king every thing which had passed in the conference, and would demand an audience from him for me, wherein all things should be expeditiously settled on this footing, and this audience would probably be my last, and that wherein I should take my leave, because, after this, nothing more would remain to be done. If I kept silence upon this occasion, most certainly it was not because I acquiesced in what they said; on the contrary, the manner in which they had again exposed themselves, and as it were confessed themselves to be liars and impostors, had inspired me with the utmost contempt for them; but I judged, that expostulation or passion would be so far from making them quit a resolution which they had concerted together, that perhaps it might rather tend to promote a rupture, whereas, as matters were at present situated, friendship at least subsisted between the two kings, and as this friendship might be more strongly cemented by a double marriage (which was publicly talked of) some more favourable opportunity might probably hereafter occur. However, I did not absolutely despair of the success of my commission, because I thought I perceived the king had no concern in the designs which his counsellors thus endeavoured to put in execution.

To come at a certainty in respect to this, was what I proposed in my third audience, for I do not consider as such my reception on Sunday. Cecil had demanded it for me from the king, and this prince

sent Erskine to tell me, that it should be on the day after the conference here related, and that I should bring but few of my retinue with me, because he wanted to discourse with me in particular; and this was further confirmed to me by a Scotch lord, who was extremely intimate with my friend the earl of Mar. The lords, Hume and Seaforth about noon came to accompany me from London, and, upon my landing at Greenwich, I was received by the earl of Derby, who conducted me into the king's apartment. I had with me only four gentlemen and two secretaries.

THE king of England took me by the hand, and, commanding that none should follow him, he led me through his cabinet into his gallery, the door of which he also secured. He embraced me twice, with expressions that shewed how greatly he was satisfied with the king of France and me, and how sensible he was of his most Christian majesty's having sent him the man who, of all his kingdom, was most necessary to him; he insisted, that making use of the present opportunity, I should speak to him without any reserve. This moment therefore seemed favourable to me, to complain to him of his ministers; and, after the usual complimentary thanks, I accordingly told him, that it was much more advantageous to me in all respects to confer with him than his counsellors, who, after having very ill executed his orders in the last conference, had also, without doubt, given him a false account of what had passed between them and me and the Flemish deputies; and I promised, if he would give me leave, to give him a sincere and just relation of every thing.

THE king approving my proposal, I acquainted him with all that had passed between us the preceding evening; I insisted more especially upon the demand to discharge the debt owing to England, and on the aspersions upon his most Christian majesty and me, with which it had been accompanied; I added, that

that if after having filled my letters to Henry only with elogies on the generosity, the prudence, and the perfect friendship of the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, and this because he himself had authorised me to do it, both by his words and actions, I should be obliged, on a sudden, to write to him in a quite contrary style, without having any reason to alledge for it, other than difficulties entirely frivolous, the king my master could not but think I had acted the part of a flattering, and perhaps an unfaithful minister, to the interests with which he had intrusted me; and it would besides, be considered as the effect of a determined friendship, with Spain, from whence, perhaps, a rupture might ensue between the two kings, whose interest as well as inclination required their continuing in a constant state of union. I thought I ought not to hesitate upon informing the king of England, that there were several of those whom he admitted into his council who were neither well disposed in themselves, nor well affected to his person; that, without naming them to him, he ought to consider as such all those who appeared so little solicitous for his glory, and the honour of his crown, as to advise him, under the name of an ally, to render himself the slave of Spain; that he would do well to be, in some degree, diffident of such persons whose characters he was not perfectly well acquainted with, and to be guided rather by his own wisdom, than the representations of his ministers.

It was no difficult matter to inspire the king of England with a diffidence of his ministers, for he was naturally but too much inclined to it. The change which I perceived in his countenance when he heard my last words, his gesture, and some expressions that escaped him, convinced me my observations was just; I even thought I plainly perceived, that either from an effect of this diffidence, or from the praises I lavished on him, this prince was at last

in

in the most favourable disposition I could wish him; I therefore embraced this opportunity to introduce in our conversation some general hints of a project, by which, with the assistance of his Britannic majesty, the tranquility of all Europe might be secured. Having said this, I remained silent, as though I had been apprehensive of fatiguing him by too long a discourse: but I knew the curiosity of James would be excited by the little I had said; accordingly he replied, that my discourse had not appeared tedious to him, but that it would be proper to know what o'clock it was. He went out, and asked some of his courtiers whom he found at the end of the gallery, and they telling him that it was not three o'clock, "Well, Sir, said the king to me, returning, I will break off the party for the chace which I had made for this day, that I may hear you to the end; and this employment will, I am persuaded, be of more service to me than the other."

THE reason that induced me to hazard a step of such consequence, as that of communicating to king James the great design upon Spain and all Europe, which had been concerted between Henry and Elizabeth, was, that being persuaded this prince was already of himself inclined to the alliance with France, he only wanted to be determined in this resolution from some great and noble motive; and because, on the other side, his ministers constantly brought him back to their manner of thinking, apparently because he could not support himself against them, from a persuasion that they opposed his sentiments only through ignorance of them. However, this did not prevent my taking the following precaution, which I judged to be very necessary.

I THEREFORE resumed the discourse, and told him, that, without doubt he had sometimes thought, and with good reason, that a man in possession of the places and honours with which I was known to be invested, never quitted his post but for a very urgent

occasion; that this was my case; that though my commission was only to require an union between France and England, yet nevertheless, from the opinion I had conceived, which fame had not been silent in reporting, of his genius and abilities, I had resolved, before I quitted the kingdom, to discourse with his Britannic majesty on something infinitely more considerable; but that what I had to acquaint him with was of such a nature, that I could not reveal it to him without exposing myself to ruin, unless he would engage by the most solemn oath to keep it a secret. James, who listened to me with a profound attention, hesitated however at taking the oath which I required; and, to render it unnecessary, he endeavoured himself to discover what it was of so interesting a nature which I had to communicate to him. But finding my answers to the different questions which he successively asked me gave him not the least light into the affair, he satisfied me at last by the most sacred and solemn of all oaths, I mean that of the holy sacrament.

THOUGH I had now nothing to fear from his indiscretion, yet, however, I carefully weighed all my words; and beginning with an article, in which I knew the king of England was most interested, I mean religion, I told him, that however I might appear to him engaged in worldly honours and affairs, and how indifferent soever he might perhaps have supposed me to be in matters of religion, yet it was no less certain that I was attached to mine, even so much as to prefer it to, my family, fortune, country, and even king, that I had neglected nothing which might incline the king my master to establish it in France upon solid foundations, being under great apprehensions lest it might one day be overwhelmed by so powerful a faction as that of an union of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, the archdukes, the catholic princes of Germany, and so many other states and communities interested in its suppression;

pression; that my success hitherto had been tolerable; but that perhaps I was indebted for it only to junctures purely political, which had engaged Henry in a party opposite to the house of Austria. That because these circumstances might change, or because I, who was the only person that would use any endeavours to make Henry continue firm in this political plan, might lose my place and his favour, I did not see how the king of France could resist a party, which both his religion, and the example of others, would call upon him to embrace. That this consideration had long inspired me with the thoughts of finding a person for the execution of this design, who by his rank and power would be more proper than me to accomplish it, and fix Henry in his sentiments. That having found all that I had sought for in the prince to whom I had the honour of speaking, my choice had not been difficult to fix. In a word, that it depended only upon himself to immortalize his memory, and become the arbitrator of the fate of Europe, by a design to which he would always appear to have put the finishing hand, though he might not be more concerned in the execution than his most Christian majesty.

THERE remained only to explain to him the nature of this design, of which at first I gave nothing farther than a general idea, under the notion of a project for an association of all the princes and states in Europe, whose interest it was to diminish the power of the house of Austria, the foundation of which should be an offensive and defensive alliance between France, England, and Holland, cemented by the closest union of the two royal houses of Bourbon and Stuart. I represented this association in a light which shewed it might be very easily formed. There was not the least difficulty in regard to Denmark, Sweden, in a word, all the protestant princes and states; and it might be rendered sufficiently advantageous to engage in it the catholic princes also:

for example, the turbulent and ambitious disposition of the duke of Savoy might be soothed with hopes of obtaining the title of king; and the princes of Germany, with promises to distribute among them those parts of it which the house of Austria possessed, as Bohemia, Austria, Hungary, Moravia, Silesia, &c. and to re-establish their antient privileges: even the pope himself might be gained, by granting him the property of those countries of which he only possessed the feodality. In regard to the king of France, though I endeavoured to persuade James that he had hitherto had no concern in this project, which I pretended was entirely of my own forming; I, however, said, that when I should have communicated it to him, I could safely engage he would have no thoughts, either of retaining any conquests which might be made, or of being recompensed for them; though, according to all appearances, the greatest part of the burthen would fall upon him, as well in the expences necessary for the carrying on the enterprize, as his own personal services. I imagined it was most proper to give the affair this turn in regard to Henry, that he might not be under too absolute an obligation.

THE king of England immediately started some objections, upon the difficulty of uniting so many different princes so differently disposed; the same nearly which Henry had made when we had last discoursed upon it at Montglat, upon his return from Metz: though from the slight sketch which I had given him of the design, he, however, appeared highly to approve it, and expressed a desire of being more circumstantially informed of it. In conformity with which desire, the following is the substance of what I said to his Britannic majesty.

EUROPE is divided into two factions, which are not so justly distinguished by their different religions, because the catholics and protestants are confounded together in almost all places, as they are by their po-

litical interests; the first is composed of the pope, the Emperor, Spain, Spanish Flanders, part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland, Savoy, the catholic states of Italy, which are Florence, Ferrara, Mantua, Modena, Parma, Genoa, Lucca, &c. Herein likewise must be comprised, the catholics dispersed in other parts of Europe, at the head of which may be placed the turbulent order of Jesuits, whose views, no doubt, are to subject every thing to the Spanish monarchy. The second includes the kings of France, England, Scotland, Ireland, Denmark, and Sweden; the republic of Venice, the United-Provinces, and the other part of the princes and towns of Germany and Switzerland: I do not take in Poland, Prussia, Livonia, Muscovy, and Transilvania, though these countries are subject to the christian religion, because the wars in which they are almost continually engaged with the Turks and Tartars, render them in some manner foreign in regard to those of the western part of Europe.

WERE the power to be estimated in proportion to the pomp of titles, the extent of territories, and the number of inhabitants, it appears, on the slightest glance, not very favourable to the second of these factions, and the superiority would apparently be determined in favour of the first: nevertheless, nothing is more erroneous than such an opinion, which may thus be proved; Spain, which must here be named first of her faction (though from rank and dignity she is only the third) because she is in reality the soul of it; Spain, I say, including her dominions in the East and West-Indies, does indeed possess an extent of territory as large as Turkey and Persia together. But if it be true (and that it is so cannot be doubted) that the new world, in recompence of its gold and other riches, deprives Spain both of her ships and inhabitants, this immense extent of territory, instead of being serviceable, is burdensome.

AND if we consider the other powers of this party, we shall every where find reason to diminish our ordinary ideas. The pope seems firmly attached to Spain; and, surrounded as he is on all sides by this formidable power, and having no reason to expect succours from any of the other catholic princes, it is, no doubt, his interest to be so. But as he does, in fact, consider his situation as but little different from real servitude; and as he is not ignorant that Spain and the jesuits only make a vain appearance of supporting his authority, it may, doubtless, be concluded, he only wants an opportunity to free himself from the Spanish yoke, and that he would readily embrace a party which should offer to render him their service, without the running any great risk; and Spain has in reality this opinion of him.

IN regard to the emperor, he has nothing in common with Spain except his name, which seems only to serve to encrease the jealousies and quarrels which so frequently arise between these two branches of Austrian power: besides, what is his power? it consists merely in his title. Hungary, Bohemia, Austria, and other neighbouring countries, are little better than empty names. Exposed as he is, on one side, to incursions of the formidable armies of the grand signior; liable, on the other side, to see the territories under his dominion tear themselves in pieces, by the multiplicity and diversity of the religions which they contain; under continual apprehensions also, lest the electoral princes should rise and make an attempt to regain their ancient privileges. Indeed the present emperor, all things justly considered, might perhaps be classed among the most inconsiderable of the European powers: besides, this Austrian branch appears to me so destitute of good subjects, that if it hath not soon a prince, either brave or wise enough to unite the different members of which Germany is composed, it will have every thing to fear from the princes of its circles, whose only aim it is, to get their

their liberty, in religion and election, restored to them. I do not except even the elector of Saxony, though he appears the most sincerely attached to the emperor, as to him of whom he holds his principality, because it is evident his religion must, sooner or later, set him at variance with his benefactor. But supposing the emperor to receive all the returns of gratitude which he can expect from this elector, this will amount to nothing, or but very little, so long as he shall be under apprehensions from the branch of John-Frederic, whom he has deprived of this electorate.

THUS, from a thorough examination of all particulars, it appears, that almost all the powers on which Spain seems to depend for aid, are either but little attached to her, or capable of doing her little service. No one is ignorant, that the general view of the princes and cities both of Germany and Switzerland is to deliver themselves from the dominion of the emperor, and even to aggrandise themselves at his expence. Nor has he any greater dependence on the ecclesiastical princes, than on the others. A foreign emperor is what they most wish, provided he is not a protestant. Nothing could give the arch-dukes a greater pleasure, as much Spaniards as they are, than a regulation, by which they should, in Flanders, become sovereigns independent of Spain, weary at length of being only her servants. It is the fear of France alone that binds the duke of Savoy to the Spaniards; for he naturally hates them, and has never forgiven the king of Spain, for doing so much less for the daughter which he bestowed upon him, than for her younger sister. As to Italy, it need only be observed, that it will be obliged to acquiesce in the will of the stronger party.

It is therefore certain, that the second of the factions here described has nothing to fear, provided it understands its own interests well enough to continue in a constant state of union. Now it is also

certain, that in this scheme these so natural motives to disunion do not occur ; and that all of them, even that caused by the difference of religion, which in some sort is the only one, ought to give place to the hatred against Spain, which is the great and common motive by which these powers are animated. Where is the prince, in the least jealous of his glory, who would refuse to enter into an association strengthened by four such powerful kings as those of France, England, Sweden, and Denmark, closely united ? It was a saying of Elizabeth's, that nothing could resist these four powers, in strict alliance with each other.

THESE truths being supposed, it only remains to examine, by what methods the house of Austria may be reduced to the monarchy of Spain, and to possess that dominion only. These methods consist either in artifice or force, and I have two means for each of these. The first of the secret means is, to divest the house of Austria of the Indies ; Spain having no more right to prohibit an intercourse with these countries to the rest of the Europeans, than she has to destroy their natural inhabitants ; and all the nations of Europe having also a liberty to make establishments in the new discovered countries as soon as they have passed the line, this enterprize would therefore be easily executed, only by equipping three fleets, each containing eight thousand men, all provided and victualled for six months ; England to furnish the ships, Flanders the artillery and ammunition, and France, as the most powerful, the money and soldiers. There would be no occasion for any other agreement, than that the conquered countries should be equally divided.

DURING this, the second of these means should be secretly prepared, upon occasion of the succession to Cleves, and the death of the Emperor, which cannot be far distant, in such manner, that under favour of the opportunities which these two incidents might furnish,

furnish, reasons might be found to divest the house of Austria of the empire, and her other dependencies in Germany, and therein to restore the antient free manner of election.

THE first of the two open and declared means is, in conjunction to take up arms, and drive the Spaniards entirely out of Flanders, in order to erect this state into a free and independent republic, bearing only the title of a member of the empire; and this, when the forces of the allies are considered, will not be found difficult. The United Provinces, comprehending in them Liege, Juliers, and Cleves, form a triangle; the first side of which, from Calais to Embden, is entirely towards the sea: the second is bounded by France, viz. by Picardy, as far as the Somme; and by the country of Messin, as far as Mezieres: the third extends from Metz, by Triers, Cologne, and Metz, as far as Dusseldorp. It is only necessary to secure these three sides in such a manner that they may be inaccessible to Spain, which may be done without difficulty, England taking upon her the first, France the second, the electors and the other interested princes the third. All the towns which should happen to be upon this line, except perhaps Thionville, which might require to be forced, would, upon a menace to be put under contribution, immediately submit.

THE second of the two last means, is for the league above-mentioned generally and in concert to declare war against Spain and the whole house of Austria. What is most essential to observe in regard to this war, is, that France and England should renounce all pretences to any share of the conquest, and relinquish them to those powers who were not of themselves capable of giving umbrage to the others. Thus Franche-Comté, Alsace, and Tirol, naturally fall to the Switzers. The duke of Savoy ought to have Lombardy, to be erected, with his other dominions, into a kingdom; the kingdom of Naples falls to

the pope, as being most convenient to him; Sicily to the Venetians, with what may be convenient for them in Istria and Friuli. Thus it appears, the most solid foundation of this confederacy would arise from all the parties being gainers by it. The rest of Italy, subject to its petty princes, might perhaps be suffered to continue under its present form of government, provided that all these little states were altogether considered as composing only one body or republic, of which they should be so many members.

THIS is a pretty just account of the manner in which I acquainted his Britannic majesty with the design to which I endeavoured to gain his approbation. I farther added whatever I thought might tend to obviate his doubts, and confirm him in favour of it. I confessed that I was not myself able to elucidate the design; that I was not surpris'd that his majesty had at first perceived great difficulties in it; that Henry would, no doubt, find many in it also, but that they only proceeded from my own weakness, and the impossibility of shewing clearly what to be perfectly explained required much time and long discourses; that I was convinced in my own mind, the design was not only possible, but that also the success of it was infallible: that if any thing was found defective in the scheme as I had conceived it, it might easily be rectified by the genius and abilities of four great kings, and some of the best generals in Europe, to whom the execution of it would be entrusted.

I THEN returned to the alliance between the two kings of France and England, and I told his Britannic majesty, that this alliance being the chief and necessary foundation of the confederacy which I had proposed to him, this must therefore necessarily begin it, without paying any regard to the discourses of prejudiced persons, or being affected by such frivolous considerations as those of the debts of France and Flanders to England. I assured him that
Eng-

England had nothing to fear from France, for that Henry's great preparations of arms and ammunition, and his amassing such vast sums, were only designed hereafter to enable him of himself to accomplish the greatest part of this important design; at least, that I could flatter myself with success in engaging him in it, from motives of glory and the public service, which operated so powerfully upon the mind of this prince. I touched James in his most sensible part, his ambition to immortalize his memory, and his desire of being brought into comparison with Henry, and of sharing his praises.

My earnestness to succeed gave such force and clearness to my expressions, that this prince, entering into my full meaning, embraced me with a kind of transport proceeding from his friendship for me, and a sense of the wrong measures which hitherto endeavours had been used to make him pursue. "No, sir, said he, do not fear that I shall ever fail in what we have together agreed upon." He protested with the same ardour, that he would not on any consideration have remained ignorant of what I had told him; that he would never contradict the good opinion which the king of France and I had conceived of him; that he really was what I thought him; that his reflections upon what I had said would yet farther confirm him in the sentiments with which I had inspired him; that he would even now engage to sign the plan of alliance which I had presented to him on Sunday, and wherein he had himself made some inconsiderable alterations; that I should also sign it in the name of the king of France, unless I rather chose to carry it with me unsigned, to shew it to his most Christian majesty, in which case he gave me his royal word, that upon my bringing or sending it back at the end of a month or six weeks, approved and signed by Henry, he would immediately, and without the least difficulty, join to it his own signature. He concluded, by obligingly assuring me,

O 6

that

that for the future he would do nothing but in concert with the king of France. He made me promise the same secrecy in regard to all persons, except the king my master, which I had been so free as to require of him; and this he extended so far, as to forbid me ever putting upon paper certain things, which upon this occasion he revealed to me, and which I therefore suppress.

OUR conference had begun about one o'clock, and continued upwards of four hours. The king called in admiral Howard, the earls of Northumberland, Southampton, Mar, lord Mountjoy, and Cecil, and declared to them, that having deliberately considered my reasons, he was resolved to enter into a close alliance with France against Spain. He reproached Cecil in very strong terms, for having, both in his words and actions, acted contrary to his commands; which explanation the secretary received very awkwardly. "Cecil, said this prince to him, I command you, without any reply or objection, in conformity to this my design, to prepare the necessary writings, according to which I will then give the dexter *, and all assurances to the ambassadors of messeurs the States." This was the first time he had distinguished them by this title. Then turning to me and taking me by the hand, he said, "Well, Mr. ambassador, are you now perfectly satisfied with me?"

I REPLIED by a profound reverence, and by making his majesty the same protestations of fidelity and attachment as if it had been to my own king, and I desired he would let me confirm it to him by kissing his hand. He embraced me, and demanded my friendship with an air of goodness and confidence which very much displeased several of his counsellors that were present. Upon my departure, he gave

* This expression signifies an oath, or promise of alliance, made by presenting the right hand.

orders to the earl of Northumberland to accompany me to the Thames, and to Sidney to escort me to London.



B O O K XVI.

ALL that now remained to be done, was to put the finishing hand to the several particulars agreed on between the king of England and me, and signified by this prince to his ministers, and to form them into a treaty, or rather into a project of a treaty, between the two kings: for indeed a peace whose final and principal effect was to proceed from the acceptation of his most Christian majesty, into whose hands it was first to be transmitted, could be called by no other name. And, upon this occasion, I was perfectly sensible of the injury my negotiation received from the unhappy precaution which necessity had obliged Henry and me to take in the council of France, not to propose any thing to the king of England but as of myself.

JAMES, being more entirely persuaded than I could have wished him, that I had acted only from the suggestions of my own desires, and for the security of the protestant religion against all events which might happen, had never, from the secrets which I had revealed to him, considered me as the instrument of the king my master; and looked upon it as doing a great deal, to engage himself first, upon very promising appearances, indeed, that the king of France would concur with him even with greater readiness. But how great is the difference between such a general engagement, liable to many various interpretations, and a treaty, wherein, by virtue of a full power from the king, I might,

with

with all the care and exactness possible, have inserted every particular in that clear and distinct manner, from whence the bonds of all political treaties acquire their strength and duration. I should not so confidently assert, that, upon this occasion, instead of the mere formula, I had reason to expect his Britannic majesty's signature of a complete treaty, which it would not be possible for him to retract, had not the murmurs, of which the letters of the count of Beaumont to the king are full, in regard to this deficiency of a signed blank, been an authentic testimony, that I have here advanced nothing from suggestions of vanity or self-love.

BUT I should reproach myself with being guilty of injustice, were I to appear suspicious of the good faith of king James; on the contrary, I affirm no prince in Europe could shew himself more jealous of it. But it happens, from I know not what fatality, that the thing in the world which one would think ought to be least exposed to the caprice of fortune, I mean a political agreement or treaty, the pure effect of a mind free in its operations, and master of its sentiments, is, however, the most changeable and uncertain; the contracting parties in no other instance would incur the imputation of having forfeited their word, yet in this they almost always fail in the execution, provided they can find the smallest colour or pretence for so atrocious a perjury; as if eluding a solemn promise or engagement were not the same as a direct violation of it. I did not doubt, that, as soon as I was gone, the counsellors of his Britannic majesty would use their utmost efforts to render ineffectual what they had not been able to prevent; and I expected that Cecil would be one of the most active for this purpose, for the victory which I had gained over him, the reprimand which he had received from the king on my account, and his confusion from the conversation which I had had with him, when it came to be publicly known, were
so

so many wounds which altogether had absolutely mortified him.

NEVERTHELESS, it will readily be admitted that I had reason to be satisfied with the success of my negotiation: my own situation in the affair considered †, its conclusion was as happy and advantageous as it could be; for I had gained the glory of having succeeded in an enterprise that was thought to be extremely difficult, without running the risk of being accused of exceeding the bounds prescribed by my commission. The king and his council had it in their option to retrench, augment, or alter whatever they thought proper, in an agreement, of which I had neither made them nor myself the guarantees; and this was performing all that it was possible for me to effect: as to its real utility, when considered in respect of Henry's design, to which I would readily have sacrificed all other considerations, if I had not completely succeeded, it was because I could not perform more, without shewing a disregard to the terms prescribed, not only in my public, but even in my private instructions. However, from what I had done there arose one real and very sensible advantage; and this was, that, in a conjuncture, wherein there were so many just causes to fear an intimate union between England and Spain, this union was absolutely frustrated, and his Britannic majesty engaged in another, from which he could neither soon nor so easily return to the former.

† This embassy of M. de Rosny is mentioned with great elogiums, in almost all the histories and memoirs of that time, without taking notice of many modern writers who have spoke of it in the same manner, though some of them, as the authors of Villeroy's memoirs of State, and of the history of the duke of Bouillon, had no interest in exalting the glory of that minister. P. Matthieu's account of it is conformable to that here given even in the most minute circumstances. Vol. II. p. 577, & seq. See also the manuscripts in the king's library, vol. 9590, and the first volume of Siri, Mem. second. Besides the detail of the marquis de Rosny's embassy to London, which in every point agrees with what has been said here, p. 226, & seq. we find quite through this historian many very curious remarks on the council and person of king James, as well as on the affairs of the English court.

I THEREFORE immediately set about drawing up the form of a treaty, which having finished, I presented to the king of England and his counsellors, to be by them finally revised and examined : they read it several times, successively retouched it, and made some inconsiderable alterations; at last it was absolutely determined in the following manner :

THE king of England, after returning his most christian majesty many thanks for the very agreeable manner in which he had prevented him, and for the quality of the ambassador he had sent him, renewed and confirmed the antient treaties of alliance between Elizabeth and Henry, and also between Scotland and France, and expressed his intention of applying them personally to himself by the present treaty, which in a manner comprehended them all, besides its other principal design of their own personal defence against Spain, and the safety and preservation of their dominions, subjects, and allies, in such manner and at such times as the two kings shall judge proper. The United-Provinces were declared to enjoy the benefit hereof, and they were the only allies herein expressly named; in regard to whom it was also stipulated, that proper measures should be taken, either perfectly to secure their liberty, or at least, that in case they were considered as subjects to Spain or the empire, it should be on conditions which would procure them perfect peace and tranquillity, and at the same time free the two allied kings from all apprehensions of a too powerful and absolute dominion of the house of Austria in these provinces.

HOWEVER, besides that the two princes mutually engaged to declare themselves openly, when either should require it of the other, in order to prevent the effects of the court of Madrid's artifices, it was also agreed immediately to furnish the States-general with succours sufficient to secure them from oppression; the number of men who were to com-
pose

pose these succours was not determined; it was only agreed, that they should be sent from England alone, and that the expences of the whole armament should be defrayed by his most christian majesty, one half purely with the money of France, the other half in deduction of the sum due from France to England. It was likewise agreed, that these proceedings of the two crowns in favour of the Low Countries should be pursued with as much secrecy as was possible, to avoid a direct infringement of the treaty of peace concluded with Spain. On a supposition that this power, considering this action as an absolute infraction, should make reprisals upon the two protecting kings, the following resolution was taken: if the king of England were attacked alone, the king of France should furnish him with an army of six thousand French at his own expences, during the whole time of the war; and in four years, and by equal proportions, discharge the remainder of his debt. England should act precisely in the same manner, in regard to France, in case the storm should fall upon her; the choice of either sea or land should be in the option of the party attacked, nor should England in this case require any part of her debt. Finally, should Spain at once declare war against both the allied princes, in order to act offensively, and at the same time promote the security of Flanders, his most christian majesty should have an army of twenty thousand men on the frontiers of Guienne, Provence, Languedoc, Dauphiné, Burgundy, and Bresse; he should likewise have the same number of forces in Flanders; and should farther divide the Spanish forces, by directing his gallies to cruise in the Mediterranean. His Britannic majesty on his side, besides a land army of at least six thousand men, which he should keep in constant readiness, should send a fleet into the West-Indies, and should order another to cruise upon the coast of Spain. All payment of debts should be suspended, and each should defray

defray its own expences. The alliance, hitherto kept a profound secret, should now be made public, by a treaty offensive and defensive between the two kings; neither of whom, without the other's consent, should either lay down his arms, diminish the number of forces agreed on, nor begin any preliminaries or conference for an accommodation.

SUCH was the substance of the projected treaty which had given me so much trouble and anxiety. James signed it; and I signed it after him; after which, I thought of nothing but returning as soon as possible into France, where it was to be changed into a treaty with all the forms. I did not fail to advise Henry of it, from whom, however, I concealed or disguised part of this important information, and likewise the detail of what had last happened to me with the king of England, in presence of his counsellors: my dispatches had been so long, so frequent, and yet so imperfect, and written in so much haste, that perhaps it was not acting amiss to spare his majesty the trouble; for he must have armed himself with great patience to read them. This, however, was not the only cause of my silence; for the regularity which Henry observed in writing to me, both to inform me of all material transactions in the council of France, and to send me new orders and new instructions, conformable to the several changes that happened in the business of my negotiation, sufficiently persuaded me nothing of this kind either fatigued or disgusted him; but, besides that upon these occasions, it is a stroke of good policy, always to keep something in reserve, to insure a better reception upon one's return, I was unwilling to expose the whole secret of my negotiation to the hazard of a discovery. An accident which had but lately happened, contributed still more to increase my circumspection. I have not mentioned this in its proper place, that I might not interrupt the relation of matters of greater consequence.

AMONG

AMONG the great number of letters which I sent from London, some directed to Villeroi and the council, and others to the king only, one of these last, dated the 20th of July, was never received by Henry, which he discovered from the contents of my dispatch by the next post, and gave me immediate notice of it : it was a letter of the greatest consequence. The courier to whom I entrusted it was one of my own domestics, of whose fidelity and honesty I was perfectly satisfied : I questioned him, and he answered, that, upon his arrival, the king being gone to hunt, he had carried the letter to Villeroi, and had given it to one of his clerks ; that he did not know this clerk, and had forgot to ask his name, being at that moment interrupted by Louvet, who also came and spoke to this clerk, and at the same time delivered him several other packets directed for his master. This account I sent to his majesty, entreating him to make all possible enquiries about it. After great trouble, and many informations, his majesty was able to give me no other satisfaction than that he had been told, and did believe, the fault was in the post-master of Ecouan.

I HAD before had reason to be suspicious, and the affair of the clerk, whose roguery I was also well acquainted with, having entirely opened my eyes, I no longer doubted, that there was a traitor employed in the king's office, and even that this could be no other than one of those under Villeroi. I wrote to Henry, and told him, that notwithstanding his account of this affair, I was of opinion it could only have happened at the time and place which I had described to him in my former letter : this clerk, whoever he was, being gained by the enemies of the state, to discover the contents of the letters which I wrote to his majesty from London, could not resist his desire to open this, the direction of which excited his curiosity, for I wrote upon the cover ; " Packet to be
" given into the king's own hands, without being
" opened."

"opened." He repented it no doubt, when he found he could make no use of it, its most essential contents being expressed in a cypher, the meaning of which he could no ways discover; and this consideration consoled me for the loss: but he had committed the fault, and apparently thought it better to throw the letter into the fire, than deliver it opened. I afterwards discovered the truth, which justified these conjectures.

HENRY could have wished that I had practised upon the queen of England and the prince her son, as I had on king James, thereby to gain a perfect knowledge of both their characters and inclinations; but as, notwithstanding the reports which had been current, this princess remained still in Scotland, and would not arrive for some time, his majesty did not think it a sufficient consideration for me to make a longer stay at London, whilst several other affairs almost as important required my presence at Paris; and he was the first to press me to return as soon as possible. This order was perfectly agreeable to me: envy and malice triumphs most over the absent; my friends lost yet more than myself from my not being among them. I entrusted Vaucelas † my brother-in-law with the care of carrying the queen of England the letters from their majesties which I had brought for her; and I instructed him in what he should do and say, to obtain what the king desired to know concerning this princess.

WHILST I was very busily employed in preparations for my departure, the wound which I received in my mouth at the siege of Chartres broke out afresh, and caused a fever, which retarded my departure for some days, and even prevented my writ-

† Andrew de Cochefilet, Baron de Vaucelas, count de Vauvineux, &c. He was afterwards counsellor of state and ambassador in Spain and Savoy; he was the brother of the duke of Sully's second wife. The house of Cochefilet is mentioned in Du Chesne, as one of the most antient in Perche, originally of Scotland, and allied to the kings of Scotland of the house of Balliol in Normandy.

ing as usual to the king. But as soon as I was somewhat recovered, I demanded my audience of leave of the king of England, who had the goodness to spare me the trouble of going to Greenwich upon this occasion, by sending to acquaint me, that he would come to London on purpose to receive me; and that he should be at Westminster ready to give me audience in the morning as early as I pleased, because he proposed to go a-hunting the same day, “to dissipate the uneasiness, added he, very obligingly, “which he should feel for my departure.”

I ATTENDED his majesty so early in the morning, that he was not dressed, and waited near an hour, which time I employed in viewing the magnificent tombs and other curious antiquities for which the cathedral of St. Peter's Westminster is celebrated. I was received by his Britannic majesty with all possible marks of esteem and affection; and he replied to the compliment which I made him on the regret I felt from my departure, that his own, of which he had informed me, was also most true, and the more so as he could not hope for my return, because my many and various avocations would detain me in France: but he protested, and confirmed his protestations in the most solemn manner, that, by whatever person his most Christian majesty should send back the treaty, of which I carried the form, he would sign it without any farther discussion. He spoke of this his new alliance with Henry in a very affecting manner, said he considered this prince as his sole model as well as his friend; and protested, that he should look upon all those who were enemies to him, as enemies to himself. To shew me that he had not forgot any of his promises, he made a kind of recapitulation of all of them. He promised not to permit any intercession or access to him, from any of the subjects of the king of France; and required the same deference from the king of France, particularly with regard to any jesuits who might be found in disguise,

guise, either within his dominions, or on board any of his ships; he praised Henry extremely for having banished this order out of the kingdom, and said, that he advised him from his heart, never to be guilty of such an error as to recal them; he insisted on this article the most: for indeed he hated the jesuits no less than he did Spain; and this aversion was increased by his considering them as his personal enemies; nor did he appear perfectly satisfied till I had engaged, as absolutely as I could, to send these assurances, which he required of his most Christian majesty, in writing. He gave me two letters for the king and queen of France, purely complimentary, in answer to those which he had received from them, wherein the article of the French ambassador was not slightly touched*.

BEING furnished with these letters and the form of the treaty, I resolved to stay no longer than the next day. Having taken my leave of all those gentlemen who were with me for this purpose, I departed from London, taking the same road as at my arrival. Sidney and the English vice-admiral escorted me to the sea-side, and took care to provide me and all my retinue with every thing we wanted, both for our journey by land and passage by sea.

BUT I should have mentioned the presents which I made in England, in the name of his most Christian majesty. That to king James was six fine horses richly caparisoned, to which Henry added also another gift, which ought to be esteemed still more considerable; this was a gentleman called Saint-Anthony, in all respects the best and most complete horseman of the age; that to the queen of England, was a large and most beautiful Venetian glass, the golden frame of which was covered with diamonds; and that to the prince of Wales, was a golden lance and helmet, enriched likewise with diamonds, a

* Matthien the historian says, the king of England made the marquis of Rosny a present of a chain set with diamonds of great value.

fencing master, and vaulter: the duke of Lennox, the earl of Northumberland, in a word, all those whom I have occasionally mentioned, besides some others, were presented, some with boxes, and others with crotchets, buttons, egrets, rings, and chains of gold and diamonds; several ladies also received rings and pearl necklaces. The value of all these presents, including twelve hundred crowns which I left with Beaumont to be distributed in certain places, amounted to sixty thousand crowns. Henry's views in making so many rich presents, a considerable part of which were even continued as pensions to some English lords, were to retain them, and attach them more strongly to his interests. I made them partly from my own knowledge, and partly from the recommendations of Beaumont, my chief care being to distribute them so as to avoid giving any cause of jealousy between these English lords, and to prevent king James himself from conceiving any jealousy of my intention. The precaution which I used for this purpose was to ask his permission, to acknowledge, by some small gratuities, the services I had received in his court.

AT Dover I received a letter from Henry, wherein he acquainted me, that he had arrived at Villers-Coterets the 9th of July, at which place he impatiently waited for me: he passed some days here, during which the queen made a journey to Liffle. I did not take any rest at Dover, and ordered all things to be in readiness to embark the next day. The weather was so bad in the night, that the English vice-admiral very seriously advised me to alter my resolution. The least delay appeared no less insupportable to all my retinue than to myself, especially to those city-sparks who find themselves out of their element, when they are off the pavement of Paris: they all pressed me with such eagerness immediately to quit Dover, and Henry's letter flattered me with so favourable a reception, that I consented to sail as soon

soon as we could. Repentance soon followed our precipitation; we met with so violent a tempest, that we were in the utmost danger; we were the whole day in crossing the channel, and so extremely seasick, that though we were three hundred of us, had a vessel with only twenty men attacked us, we must have surrendered.

A SECOND letter which I received from Henry at Boulogne, rendered it necessary for me not to lose a moment. At this place I quitted those who had accompanied me, after having thanked them for the honour they had done me, and left them to go wherever they thought proper. His majesty had taken care to order post-horses to be in readiness in all the proper places upon the road, in case my health would permit me to make use of them. I therefore took post at Abbeville, at three o'clock in the afternoon, and arrived the next day at eight in the morning at Villers-Coterêts.

I WOULD not take any repose till I had first received the honour of saluting his majesty. I found him in that walk of the park which leads to the forest, where he proposed to take an airing on some horses that were to be brought there to him; Bellievre, Villeroi, De Maiffes, and Sillery, were walking with him, and in one of the walks adjacent were the count de Soissons, Roquelaure, and Frontenac. Immediately upon his perceiving me, though at a distance, he said, as De Maiffes afterwards informed me, "There's the man I have so much wished to see, he is at last arrived; my cousin the count of Soissons must be called, that he may be present at the brief relation he will give us of what he has seen, heard, said, and done, of which he has wrote me nothing; let my horses be sent back, I shall not now go into the forest."

His majesty would not suffer me to kneel to kiss his hand, but embraced me twice very closely. His first words were, that he was perfectly satisfied with my

my services; that he had not thought my letters tedious, and that he should take pleasure in hearing what I had not related in them. I replied, that this relation would be somewhat long, and could not well be made, but as opportunity should present, to discourse on so many different matters. I began with the person of the king of England, which I described to him nearly the same as I have already in these Memoirs: I did not omit either the admiration which this prince expressed for his majesty, or the delight he took on being compared with him, nor his desire to render himself worthy of the comparison. I related the proofs which he had given me of his attachment to France, of his contempt for the chimeras with which Spain had endeavoured to inspire him, and how far he was from espousing the part of the revolted French calvinists. King James was sensible from his own situation, how very unfit this last procedure would have been, having so great a number of seditious in his own dominions, that I was very much deceived, if they did not one day cause him much trouble. I added, that if I had myself been disposed to give ear to them, the chiefs of this faction had given me fair opportunities to enter with them into very serious enterprises: I mentioned the affair of the lost dispatch, and spoke my sentiments of it with freedom. I then returned to the king of England, and acquainted his majesty with what he was ignorant of in regard to my last audience, and, together with the form of the treaty signed by us both, I presented to him the two letters from his Britannic majesty, and another letter wrote to his majesty, since my departure from London, by the count of Beaumont, which I had received upon the road. Henry ordered Villeroy to read all those letters to him.

BEAUMONT in his letter acquainted the king, that the queen of England, with her children, was instantly expected in London, from whence she would

go directly to Windsor to reside there with the king; that many were apprehensive her arrival would cause disturbance in affairs, and might inspire the factious with courage; that happily there was no able man among them; that the Spanish ambassador was at last arrived in England, and, with another from the duke of Brunswic, was said to be actually at Gravesend, from whence they were immediately to proceed to London, his Britannic majesty having sent ships to protect the Spanish ambassador in his passage against those of the States; that count d'Aremberg depended so entirely upon the alterations which this ambassador would make in affairs, that being informed of his arrival, he was gone before him to Windsor, there to wait his coming: nor did Beaumont dissemble his own fears of the effects which it might have on a prince susceptible of new impressions, not so much from what he would gain from the magnificent offers of Spain, as from his own natural timidity, his weakness, and even scruples, lest, in supporting the United-Provinces, he should countenance a parcel of rebels.

BEAUMONT wrote thus from the communication which had been made to him of a plan for an agreement between Spain and the States, designed and drawn up in Germany, of which he even gave the purport in this letter; but he seemed persuaded the deputies of the Low-Countries would never consent to it, though the emperor should be guarantee of it, because they thought it neither strong enough to oblige Spain to observe it, nor even sufficiently impartial, to hope from it a perfect peace with that crown; besides, they had a general suspicion of all propositions wherein France and England were not concerned. He observed that these deputies were likewise upon the point of returning home, with a resolution to animate their republic to a vigorous defence, from the certainty my convention with his Britannic majesty had given them, that they should
not

not be abandoned by the two kings, and from the permission which James had given them to raise soldiers in Scotland, to be commanded by my lord Buccleugh, whom they had accepted as colonel of these recruits: finally, Beaumont concluded his letter, by saying, that, in order to be still more perfectly informed of every thing that passed, and to remind the king of England of his promises, if necessary, he was going himself to Windsor. I take no notice of those passages in this letter, wherein Beaumont gave the highest praises to my conduct and my negotiation.

VILLEROI having finished reading the plan for a treaty, "Well, cousin," said Henry, addressing himself to the count of Soissons, "what do you think of all this? give me your opinion of it freely." I readily imagined what reply he would make, and the count did not deceive me. "Since you require it of me, said he, I must say, that I think the marquis of Rosny has very great credit with the king of England; and that he is in a marvellous good intelligence with the English, at least if his relation, and all which you have been informed of, is true; for which reason he ought to have brought much more advantageous conditions, and a treaty in a better form than that which he has presented to you, which is really nothing more than a mere project of hopes and fair words, without any certainty that they will ever be executed." "What you have said is truly very fine and good, replied Henry: nothing is so easy as to discover faults in the actions of others." His majesty still continued to speak, as if to make my apology, and altogether my eulogy. He said, I was the only person in France who, with so limited a power, could have performed what I had; that my credential letters were not even demanded of me at the court of London, which behaviour was not to be paralleled; that he had foreseen and expected the difficulties with

which I had struggled, and that he had not hoped I could have so easily conquered them; that he was perfectly satisfied, and that he only repented his not having given me *Carte-blanche*. “Rosny, said he, “in his conduct has given me an example, which “confirms to me the truth of a Latin proverb, “though I do not know whether I speak it right, “*Mitte sapientem, & nihil dicas* :” “and I am “certain, that, if his presence should again become “necessary on the other side, he will always be ready to return, and serve me with the same ability “and address which he has here shewn.” I suppress a great part of what, upon this occasion, the generous soul of Henry inspired him with for my defence: what gave me the most sensible satisfaction, and which I considered as infinitely superior to all the praises he bestowed upon me, was his adding, that he had nothing to fear from thus praising me to my face, because he knew that those praises, instead of making me vain and less diligent, would only increase my desire of acting still better. These words silenced the count of Soissons.

I THEN answered several questions which the king asked me, touching the nature and power of the three kingdoms of Great-Britain, on the character of the English, and what they thought of their new king. After this, the conversation turned on the affair of Combaut. Henry, after I had given him a circumstantial relation of it, assured me that he approved of my conduct therein, considering it as equally dangerous either to favour, or pretend ignorance of the escape of the criminal, to endeavour to excuse him, or openly to vindicate him. I acquainted his majesty with the character of young Servin †, such as I have already given. The king having twice asked whether dinner was ready, went

† L'Etoile makes mention of him. “It is surprising, says he, “how it could happen, that the plague should find means to attack “so great a plague as he.”

in to sit down to table, having first directed Villeroi to provide me my dinner, and ordered me to go and take my repose till the next day, as being what I must very much want, after having rode post, and that succeeded by a pretty long walk. He ordered my good friends Frontenac and Parfait, to serve me from his kitchen, till my own equipage and attendants were arrived; "And to-morrow morning, said he, we will renew our discourse."

IN the afternoon, the king took the airing in the forest, which he had intended in the morning; in the evening at supper, he sent me two excellent melons and four patridges; at the same time acquainting me, that I should come to him early the next morning, before any of his counsellors were with him; which I accordingly did. Though it was very early, he was dressed, and had breakfasted, when I entered his apartment, and was diverting himself with looking at a game of tennis then playing in the little court of the castle, which was generally used for this diversion. "Rosny, said he, we will take a walk while the freshness of the morning continues; I have some questions to ask you, and some matters to discuss, on which I have been thinking the whole night. I arose at four o'clock, these things having pressed my thoughts so strongly, that I have not been able to sleep." He took me by the hand, and we walked into the park, where we continued near two hours alone. Bellievre, Villeroi, and Sil-lery, having joined us, the king continued walking another hour with us four. Our mornings were generally spent in the same manner, during the three following days which his majesty passed at Villers-Coterets. In these conversations, I gave him an exact and particular account of all the most secret and important matters with which he still remained to be acquainted.

I RECEIVED several letters from Beaumont, the contents of which may serve as a supplement to the

affairs of England, which I have already related. The arrival of the queen at London did not occasion all that disorder which had been apprehended; the the discontented found her not to be what they had conceived. It seemed as though her sudden change of situation and country had made as sudden a change in her inclinations and manners; from an effect of the elegancies of England, or from those of the royal dignity, she became disposed to pleasures and amusements, and seemed wholly engaged in them and nothing else; she so entirely neglected or forgot the Spanish politics, as gave reason to believe she had, in reality, only pretended to be attached to them, through the necessity of eventual conjunctures. Kintore; who had accompanied her, openly continued his profession of attachment to France. Some ladies, in whom this princess reposed the greatest confidence, positively assured Beaumont she was not so perfect a Spaniard as was believed. Beaumont contrived to get himself presented to her, and made my excuses to her for not having been able to stay till her arrival, nor wait upon her myself with the letters from their majesties.

DURING all this the Spanish ambassador, whose arrival in England had been so positively asserted, was not yet come. Count d'Aremberg, who was so far deceived in his expectation as to go and wait his arrival at Windsor, found himself at last obliged to demand without him his audience of the king, who granted it. I am ignorant of what passed in it: I only know that he demanded a second, for which the king made him suffer a thousand delays, which however can only be attributed to this prince's distaste of business, and his passion for the chase, which seemed to make him forget all other affairs; for at this very time, his conduct and discourse was so far from giving the Spanish partisans any cause to despair, that, on the contrary, he appeared disposed again to fall into his former irresolution. Beaumont did not know

know to what to attribute this change, whether to his natural disposition, or to the insinuations of Cecil, who used all the means he possibly could to make him fail in the observance of his promises. Happily many new incidents concurred to support this prince against all temptations of this kind; and the Spaniards were so imprudent in their conduct, as to be themselves the principal causes of it.

No sooner was the Spanish ambassador arrived in London (for he did at last arrive there) than both court and city, and all affairs were put into a violent ferment, the effects of various cabals, intrigues, mistrusts, and suspicions. He soon multiplied the number of his creatures, by his extraordinary liberalities to all those whom he considered as necessary to be gained. He endeavoured to tamper with the Scotch troops, and engage them in the Spanish service, as the States had done in theirs: this would have been a decisive stroke, which Holland could not evade any otherwise than with the assistance of her protectors by retaining these troops in her own service. All these proceedings of the Spaniard, being pursued with a spirit of pride and independence, were so much the more disagreeable to James, as his natural weakness produced in him a repugnance to oppose them by an exertion of his authority. He would have given the world to be freed from his perplexity, by the departure of the ambassador. A whisper was likewise current concerning a conspiracy of the English Catholics † against James's person. Beaumont constantly treated this insinuation as a calumny; and indeed, whoever is acquainted with the true state of this body in England at this time, will, in its weakness and the meanness of its sentiments, discover an unanswerable argument to disprove it.

BUT a more certain and undoubted conspiracy was that of some English lords; who formed the de-

† It produced a proclamation, whereby king James banished the jesuits out of his dominions. Mem. d'Etat de Villeroi, vol. III. p. 217..

sign of stabbing the king. Their chiefs, for the design was proved, and it was believed they had undertaken it at the instigation of Spain and the archdukes, were lord Cobham, Raleigh, Gray, Markham, and several others of the principal servants, and even the intimate confidants, of the late queen, tho' they had appeared among the most forward to do homage to her successor. Nevertheless Cecil was not named in the cabal; the affair was public, and was the subject of much discourse. A religious dispute, which arose in the conference between the protestants and puritans, increased the disorder. The conversation of the court turned entirely upon the disputes and quarrels which happened between particular persons. The earl of Northumberland struck colonel Vere in the face, in presence of the whole court, and was confined at Lambeth by the king's order, who was justly incensed as so disrespectful and outrageous an insult. The earl of Southampton and lord Grey gave each other the lie in the queen's presence, and used several other atrocious expressions; but they were reconciled to the king by asking pardon of the queen for their imprudence, and to each other by an intervention of the royal authority, commanding them to forbear any acts of violence. After which, without any other satisfaction, they conversed together as friends: from whence one would be apt to imagine they were of opinion, that the king's name and authority preserve the honour of those who cannot vindicate it for themselves.

WHEN from the accounts which Beaumont gave me in his letters, of all these public and private differences, I found the affairs was in the most favourable situation I could desire it, I embraced the opportunity to put the finishing hand to the work which I had begun at London: I did myself the honour of writing to his Britannic majesty; I informed him, that the king of France had with pleasure ratified the plan

plan concerted between his majesty and me, and that he had sent the count of Beaumont the necessary power to reduce it into such a form as his majesty should judge proper; I repeated the protestations of obedience and attachment, which I had before made him; I assured him, that by this I was so far from offending the king my master, that, on the contrary, I served and obeyed him.

I WROTE at the same time to Beaumont, and informed him of what had happened to me upon my return into France, of my conversations with the king, and his inclination to send me again at a proper time into England. With this letter I also sent Beaumont the treaty signed by his majesty, and gave him likewise the necessary instructions for maintaining the good intelligence which this treaty established between the two crowns: this would in some measure depend on that which should subsist between the ambassador of France at London, and that of England at Paris. This latter had taken offence at the superscription of a letter, wherein a title had been given him which was either improper, or such as he did not like. I took the blame of this upon myself, and repaired it as well as I could.

BEAUMONT having received the treaty, acquainted the king of England therewith, who referred him directly to Cecil. He was astonished to find this secretary on a sudden become tractable, give his approbation of it with great readiness, and without making the least difficulty; on the contrary, he was lavish in his praises of his most Christian majesty and me: all things conspired to promote it; the treaty was therefore received, signed, and accomplished, in the most authentic and solemn manner. Dauval, being arrived in France from Beaumont with an account of this good news, I made my acknowledgements to his Britannic majesty in a second letter: and to employ all sorts of counter-batteries against the Spaniards, who set no bounds to their presents,

we imitated them in this respect, and even gave pensions to all the most distinguished persons in the court of king James; the best and most beautiful horses were industriously procured wherever they could be found, and they were sent, together with magnificent furniture, as presents to this prince.

THUS was Spain disappointed in those great hopes she had conceived to our prejudice, from the accession of the king of Scotland to the throne of England, and which probably were the motives for her making those great armaments which she did this year. On the 27th of May, a squadron of twelve Spanish galleys, manned with three thousand soldiers, and completely equipped, were beaten by only four Dutch vessels; which was the second loss of this kind that Spain had lately suffered: Frederic Spinola, who commanded this squadron, was killed in the engagement. Spain, to retrieve these misfortunes, made such preparations on every side for war, as spread a terror amongst all her neighbours; she made herself mistress of the Mediterranean, by the galleys that Charles Doria commanded there; and vessels in the mean time were building in the port of Lisbon, for the embarkation of twenty thousand soldiers. This work was pursued with such indefatigable labour, that it was not remitted even on Sundays and holidays.

EVERY one talked his own way about the occasion of such formidable preparations: some said, that they were designed against Flanders, particularly Ostend; others, that they were destined for the conquest of Barbary, because the king of Cusco having promised the council of Madrid to assist that crown in the reduction of the important city of Algiers, they provided a supply of men and money, which that prince kept to himself, without being at much trouble about the performance of his word. Many persons were persuaded that Spain had a design upon France itself: the first notice his majesty received of it,

it, was at the same time that he was advised to be attentive to the castle of If, and to the islands on the coast of Marseilles. I was then in England; his majesty wrote me an account of it, but did not seem to give much credit to those informations, although he was not ignorant that the duke of Savoy was very solicitous to do him this bad office; but he knew likewise that Spain thought this advice of the duke's very interested; and the pope gave him repeated assurances of the contrary, which there was great room to think proceeded indirectly from the council of Spain, who had reasons for not provoking this prince too.

IN reality, all this was unravelled by taking into consideration, what was carrying on with king James, by a double negotiation of France and Spain at the same time; and his majesty took the part which prudence directed, which was, to give new orders for the strict observation of discipline in Languedoc, Provence, and Dauphiné. Monsieur Le-Grand, who had lately obtained that the artillery of the city of Beaune should not be taken away, was sent into his government of Burgundy, with orders to act in concert with Lesdiguières, and to throw himself into Geneva, if the duke of Savoy seemed to have any intention of making a new attempt upon this city, although the council of France at the same time earnestly advised this little republic to listen to the mediation offered by some Swiss cantons, to terminate by an advantageous agreement that kind of tedious, and long war which had so long subsisted between them and Savoy. However, the transportation of arms from France and Spain, or Spanish Flanders, was prohibited; and Barrault† caused four thousand five hundred pikes of Biscay to be seized at Saint-John-de-Luz, which a French merchant of Dieppe had embarked for the Low Countries, notwithstanding this order.

† Emeric Gobier de Barrault.

THE long stay which was made by Doria on the coast of Genoa with the galleys before mentioned, was another mystery that could not be found out. He had sailed for the coast of Villa-Francha, as if with a design to take the three sons of the duke of Savoy on board, who appeared to be waiting at Nice only for an opportunity of being conveyed to Spain; their father, it was said, sent them there to be educated, and to be raised to the first dignities of the state †, the government of Milan, and the viceroyship of Naples and Sicily, being those he most eagerly panted after, probably, because he flattered himself, that those titles would afford him an opportunity to snatch some part of those territories for himself. But every one was deceived; Doria passed by without landing or stopping at Villa-Francha: nevertheless, there were persons who continued to believe that it had been his design, but that his resentment for Savoy's not paying him those honours, nor esteeming him so highly as he thought he deserved, had prevented his execution of it; others maintained that it was agreed upon between the duke of Savoy and him, that he should act in this manner, to give the duke a pretence for staying longer at Nice, where, said these conjecturers, he only waited for an opportunity to make an attempt upon Provence; and others again thought they had discovered the reason of his departure, to be an order which they supposed he had received from Spain to go and join his squadron to the great naval army of the Spaniards: or possibly the council of Madrid had nothing else in view, but to accustom her neighbours to preparations and motions, for which they could not guess the cause. However that may be, this did not prevent the voyage of the children of Savoy into Spain; after a delay of some time longer at Nice, they passed on the twentieth of June within view of Marseilles,

† The second of these princes was made viceroy of Portugal, and the third archbishop of Toledo and cardinal,

without saluting the castle of If; their convoy consisted of nine galleys, four of Malta, three of the Pope's, and two of Savoy.

IN the mean time, some other Spanish troops were upon their march from Italy to Flanders. His majesty was the more attentive to their motions, because he was informed that Hébert, who had left France and retired to Milan, continued his former intrigues with the count of Fuentes: the secret was discovered by a letter that Hébert wrote to his brother, who was a treasurer of France in Languedoc. These troops, as I was informed by his majesty's letters to me at London, quitted Savoy, and passed the bridge of Green on the first of July; they consisted of ten Neapolitan companies, commanded by Don Inigo de Borgia, and only Don Sancho de Lune remained in this canton with a small body of troops, with a view no doubt to hasten the treaty depending between Savoy and Geneva, which was concluded accordingly on the 15th of the same month. The remainder of the Spanish troops that were drawn from Italy, consisted of four thousand Milanois, commanded by the count de Saint George, who took the same rout.

NOTWITHSTANDING these supplies, by which the archdukes received a great accession of strength, yet Henry was still of opinion, that the Spaniards would not complete their enterprize upon Ostend this year; they themselves seemed to think that time alone could effect it, their forces being considerably diminished. The thousand horse that attended the duke of Aumale were reduced by desertion to less than five hundred, and those that remained were so great an expence to their own commanders, that they expected to be soon obliged to disband them. Such was the situation of the United-Provinces during this year, wherein they gained likewise another advantage over their enemies; a small number of Dutch vessels who were going to load spices, meeting

ing with fourteen Portuguese galleys belonging to Goa, gave them chase, took five, in which they found great riches, and dispersed the rest.

EUROPE, during the course of this year, had not more tranquility in the east than the west. Mahomet the third, to secure himself as he thought in the throne, cut the throats of twenty of his brothers. Buried in the recesses of the seraglio, he did not perceive that his mother, to whom he entirely abandoned the government, abused his authority : and was first informed of it by the Janizaries, who came one day in a body, and in a manner that shewed they would neither brook a denial nor delay, demanded the head of the two Capi Agas, who directed the council of the sultana-mother, and the banishment of the sultana herself, which he was obliged to comply with immediately. He afterwards put his own son, and the sultana his wife to death, and was himself seized with the plague, of which he died.

BUT it is now time to resume the affairs of the kingdom. His majesty having returned from Villers-Coterets to Fontainebleau, I left him in this last place, and came to Paris, to attend my usual employments : these were to make the receivers-general of the districts, and other persons in-office, bring in exact accounts ; to cashier those who were convicted of any misdemeanour, as it happened to Palot a receiver in Languedoc and Guienne ; to make a provision of sums necessary to keep the old allies of the crown, and to acquire new ones, and the maintenance of those that resided in foreign courts for this purpose ; and lastly, by the mere force of frugality and œconomy, to enrich the treasury, by discharging all the debts his majesty had contracted during the league, and the other engagements of the state, at the head of which his majesty generally placed the pensions he allowed the Swiss cantons, and was always very solicitous to know if they were discharged : the fewer allies we had in Italy, the
more

more necessary the king thought it to sooth and manage them. He made a present of a suit of armour, which he had one day worn in battle, to the Venetian residents at Paris; that republic earnestly requested it of him, and set so high a value upon this present, that they hung up the suit of armour, with a kind of ceremony, in a place where it was publicly exposed to view, and served for a monument to posterity, of their veneration of a prince who was so justly famous for his military virtues.

As the new œconomy, which I had introduced into every branch of the revenue, cut off the greatest part of those profits which the courtiers and other persons about the king drew from different places, and lessened the presents his majesty made them from his own purse, they fell upon methods to supply this vacuity; to which the prince, delighted with an opportunity of satisfying them, consented so much the more willingly as it cost him nothing: this was to prevail on his majesty to pass innumerable edicts, granting certain privileges and tolls upon particular parts of trade, to be enjoyed by them, exclusively of all others. When this trick was once found, there was nothing that promised profit, which did not get into the brain of one or other among those who thought they had a right to some favour from the king; interest gave every man invention, and the kingdom immediately swarmed with those petty monopolies, which, though singly of little consequence, yet altogether were very detrimental to the public, and particularly to commerce, in which the least obstruction produces mischief. I thought it my duty to make frequent and earnest remonstrances to the king on this subject; and therefore made no scruple to expose myself to the anger of the count of Soissons, with whom, as I have already said, I could never live three months together without a quarrel.

THE count of Soissons presented a petition to the
king

king at Fontainebleau, in which he proposed that a grant should be made him of fifteen-pence upon every bale of goods exported: a design that must certainly have been suggested to him by some of his friends, for he could never have thought of it himself; nor did he know all the consequences of it, at least he assured the king that this toll would not bring in more than thirty thousand livres a year; and so well persuaded him of the truth of what he had asserted, that his majesty, who thought himself obliged to bestow a gratuity of this value upon him, and being likewise vanquished by repeated importunities, granted his request, without giving me, who was then at Paris, any notice of it. Henry, that he might be troubled with no farther solicitations about it, caused an edict to be expedited for the count, which he signed, and the seal was placed to it; but some remains of a scruple with regard to trade, the importance of which he was fully sensible of, made him, in granting this favour, reserve a verbal condition, that it should not exceed fifty thousand livres, press too hard upon the people, nor be too great a burthen upon trade.

THAT evening the king reflecting upon what he had granted, began to have some suspicion that he was imposed upon: he wrote to me instantly, and proposed the thing to me as an indifferent question, without telling me what had passed, or naming any person. I knew not what to think of such a demand, but set myself to work, and, taking to my assistance the accounts of the customs and domain, and entries of provisions, I found that the annual amount of this tax would not be less than three hundred thousand crowns; and I could not but think it still of more importance, when I reflected on the trade of hemp and linen, which it seemed likely to ruin in Brittany, Normandy, and great part of Picardy; I therefore went immediately to Fontainebleau, to make my report to his majesty. The king confessed

fessed to me all that had happened, with many marks of astonishment that his confidence had been thus abused. The true remedy had been to have caused the edict to be brought back, and have entirely suppressed it, as being obtained by a false pretence: but that I might not be embroiled with the count of Soissons, who could not be long ignorant that it was I who had opened his majesty's eyes, it was agreed upon between us to have recourse to another method, which was to hinder the parliament from registering the edict. All that was necessary for this purpose, was to send no letter with it, either under the king's hand or mine; this was an agreement that had long been made between the king and the sovereign courts; and without this formality, whatever other orders were produced, the parliament knew what they had to do, and would not register any thing. I was certain however, and I told his majesty so, that this expedient would not preserve me from the resentment of the count, and of the marchioness of Verneuil, who I discovered was concerned in this business; but I resolved to hold firm against the count, provided his majesty would be proof likewise to the solicitations of his mistress, which he promised me, and added, that he would openly support me.

Two or three days after my return to Paris, the count of Soissons came to my house, and paid me many compliments, having, as he said, occasion for a Maximilian de Bethune at full length: he thought by shewing me great kindness, and condescending to be familiar with me, he should easily obtain my signature, without being obliged to tell me for what purpose he demanded it. I answered coldly, pretending to be quite ignorant of the matter, that I never signed any thing without knowing what it was: the count then found that he must have recourse to other means; he acquainted me with what his majesty had lately done for him, and said, that as he was not ignorant of the private agreement between the king, the
sovereign

sovereign courts, and me, the signature which he demanded was a letter to the parliament of Brittany, and the court of aids at Rouen.

AT this declaration, I assumed an air still more serious, and pretended to be greatly surpris'd that the king had given me no intimation of the affair, nor communicated it to the council, to whom resolutions of such consequence were always made known; and from thence took occasion to tell the count, that an edict of this nature, which bore so hard upon the public interest, deserving to be excepted from the general rule, I could not take the danger upon myself; that therefore he must address himself directly to his majesty, or bring me at least an order signed by him, which would serve to justify me against the reproaches I could not fail to draw upon myself some time or other for my compliance. The count replied, with much bitterness, that I only made use of this extreme caution to ruin his design, and to break with him entirely; but finding these words could not alter my resolution, he went away grumbling. I heard him mutter something between his shut teeth concerning our former quarrels; and he went to discharge his choler at the house of the marchioness de Verneuil.

THIS lady, altho' as much enraged with me as the count of Soissons, was yet come to make me a visit, just as I was leaving my closet to go to his majesty, who had returned to the Louvre. She could not have chosen a worse time; the too easy king had just suffered a score of edicts, all in the spirit of the first, to be extorted from him, and, to say the truth, of but little consequence. I set out with a full resolution to make a new attempt upon the king in favour of the people, who would be prevented by these extortions from paying the land-tax. The marchioness asking what paper it was I had in my hand, "This is a pretty business, madam," answered I in a passion, yet affecting to be much more angry than I really

really was, "you are not the last among those that
"are concerned in it;" in effect, her name made
the sixth article. I then opened the memorial, and
read to her all the names, with the titles of the
edicts. "And what do you intend to do with this?"
said she. "I intend," answered I, "to make some
"remonstrances to the king upon it." "Truly,"
replied she, no longer able to contain her spleen,
"he will have little to do to take your advice, and
"offend so many great people. And on whom;
"pray, would you have the king confer favours, if
"not on those who are mentioned in this writ-
"ting, his cousins, friends, and mistresses?" "What
"you say, madam," replied I, "would be reason-
"able enough, if his majesty took the money all
"out of his own purse; but to make a new levy up-
"on the merchants, artists, labourers, and country-
"men, it will never do; it is by them that the
"king and all of us are supported, and 'tis enough
"that they provide for a master, without having so
"many cousins, friends, and mistresses to maintain."

MADAM de Verneuil lost none of my words, she
dwelt particularly upon the last; and, in the rage
with which she was transported, made use of them to
form a thousand wicked slanders. She flew imme-
diately to the count of Soissons, and told him, that
I had said the king had but too many relations, and
that it would be happy for him, and his people, if he
could get rid of them. The count, mad with rage,
went the next morning, and demanded a conference
with the king; after a long enumeration of his ser-
vices, he told him, that I had so outrageously injur-
ed his honour, that he must absolutely have my life,
unless his majesty would himself do him justice.
Henry, seeing him in such violent emotion, asked
him, with great composure, what I had done or said,
and whether the affront he had received was directly
from me, or had been related to him by another per-
son. The count not caring to enter into any expla-
nation,

nation, replied, that if we were both together in his majesty's presence, not all the respect he ought to have for a person who was dear to him should hinder him from doing himself justice; and added, that what he had said was true, and he ought to be believed on his word, for he was not accustomed to lie. "If that was the case, cousin," said the king, in a voice such as must naturally put him in confusion, "you would not be like one in your family; for we always produce your elder brother, in particular, as remarkable for this: but since it was a report made to you, tell me who made it, and what he said, and then I shall know what I ought to do, and will endeavour to satisfy you, if you are to be satisfied with reason." The count replied, that he had taken an oath not to name the person from whom he received his informations, but that he was as well convinced of his veracity as his own. "So then, cousin, answered the king, you excuse yourself from answering my question, on account of an oath you have taken, to the contrary; and I likewise will take an oath to believe no more of your complaint, that what monsieur de Rosny himself shall acknowledge to me; for I have as good an opinion of his veracity, as you can possibly have of those who tell you these fine tales."

THE count of Soissons, when he went out of the king's presence, discovered such an excess of fury against me, that his majesty thought it necessary to give me notice of it; which he did by Zamet, and La Varenne, whom, at the same time, he ordered to ask me, if I had not by some word or action given offence to the count. I answered, that ever since the visit I had received from the count at the arsenal, which was above fifteen days ago, I had never spoke to him, or any of his people; that the marchioness de Verneuil indeed had been at my house, but neither she nor I had mentioned the count. "Oh!" said the king, when these words were repeated to him,

"we

“ we need not doubt any longer from whence this
 “ mischief proceeds, since Madam de Verneuil is
 “ named ; for she is so full of malice, and has such
 “ a ready invention, that to the least word of mon-
 “ sieur de Rosny’s she would add an hundred, nay a
 “ thousand ; but for all that, this affair must not
 “ be neglected.” The rage in which his majesty
 had seen the count, gave him reason to apprehend
 that he would take some violent resolution against
 me ; he therefore sent La Varenne to tell me, that I
 should never stir out of my house without being well
 attended, and that he desired I would spare nothing
 for my security ; adding, with great goodness, that
 all the expence I could be at in guarding myself,
 would be far below what it would cost him if he
 should lose me †.

I CANNOT quit the article of this new creation of
 edicts, without taking notice of an arret of council,
 much more ancient, by which a tax of anchorage
 was ordered to be levied on all the foreign vessels that
 anchored in our ports. This at the bottom was no
 more than what was paid by our vessels in foreign
 ports ; nevertheless it was with regret, and only by
 his majesty’s express orders, that I carried it into exe-
 cution, looking upon it to be one of those exactions
 which was most likely to depress the vigour of our
 trade. The parliaments of Rouen and Rennes made
 made great opposition to the registering them, and

† L’Etoile’s Journal treats at large of this difference, which the
 king put an end to, by obliging the count of Soissons to be contented
 with a letter of satisfaction which M. de Rosny wrote to him : and
 according to Matthieu, Henry IV. made the count de Soissons and the
 marquis de Rosny come into his apartment, and reconciled them, *ibid.*
 592. De Thou also speaks of it, b. cxxix. The steadiness of M. de
 Rosny has procured him great commendations from our historians.
 “ He had no consideration for any thing, says father Challons, but
 “ the king’s service ; nor could any respect for persons of the greatest
 “ quality, princes, or even the queen herself, prevail on him to make
 “ the least concession, where he thought the king’s interest or glory
 “ came in question ; this got him many enemies, and was the cause
 “ that, after the king’s death, the queen took the management of
 “ affairs out of his hands,” *Hist. de Fr. vol. III. p. 255.*

the marechal d'Ornano bestirred himself greatly, having money owing him from the state, which had been charged upon that part for his reimbursement. The establishment of commissioner-examiners, lieutenants-particuliers, assesseurs-criminels, and other officers of justice, met with no less difficulty from the same court of Rouen, which more than any other opposed these new edicts; the last were made with an intention to satisfy and send back the colonels and captains of companies, who had waited at Paris a long time for their pay, in consequence of these new regulations: probably it was the meeting with such obstacles as these to his designs, that had long made Henry solicitous to suppress the chamber of requests in all his parliaments. He had laboured very earnestly to effect this, and actually began with that of the parliament of Thoulouse this year, which continued to be suppressed, notwithstanding all the objections that were made to it by his own council, in which all the debates ran contrary to him.

THE quarrel between the count of Soissons and me, made a great noise; but the king, to shew me that it had produced no alteration in his friendship, sent me notice by Beringhen some days afterwards, that he intended to pass by Rosny, in the journey he was upon the point of making to Normandy, and that he expected I should treat him there with his court. The princes, princesses, and the constable, were all that the king permitted to be of this party. The preparations I made were worthy of him who did me the honour to be my guest: but the entertainment was disturbed by an unforeseen accident; the rivers were so much swelled by a sudden storm, that the offices of Rosny were overflowed †, the

† I believe L'Etoile a little exaggerates this accident, when he says their majesties with great difficulty escaped the danger. "The king," adds he, laughing, told M. de Rosny, that heaven and earth were "combined against him; and that he ought boldly to take care of himself."

fruit spoiled, as well as the labour of the servants; the ladies were terrified, supposing the danger to be much greater than it really was. I removed their fears by causing a conduit to be opened, through which the water used to have a passage, and which had been filled up to make the passage more commodious for his majesty and for the carriages. I had already begun to make the road and the bridge at the entrance to Rosny, but neither were yet completed.

THE waters did great damage for ten leagues about, but I came off for two or three hundred crowns.

HIS majesty proceeded as far as the Lower Normandy, but did not go beyond Caën: he took the government of it from Crevecœur-Montmorency, who was accused of carrying on correspondencies with Bouillon and d'Auvergne, particularly with Tremouille, whose kinsman he was; and gave it to Bellifonds. From Caën the king passed through Rouen †, where he settled entirely all the affairs of that province. In this city he declared his pleasure concerning the marriage of my daughter, whom, as it was formerly mentioned, the princess Catherine had proposed for the duke of Rohan, and who had since that time been demanded in marriage by monsieur and madam de Fervaques, for monsieur de Laval the son of that lady. His majesty at Rouen ordered me rather to prefer Laval; but he once more altered his opinion.

THE affairs of religion were in part the occasion of the journey his majesty had lately taken; and the duke of Bouillon had likewise a share ‡ in it. He

† "The king was attacked at Rouen with so violent a looseness, as to void blood, which the physicians said came from his having eaten too great a quantity of raw oysters". L'Etoile, an. 1603.

‡ It is in vain to endeavour at any justification of the duke of Bouillon. His own historian gives up his defence, after the deposition of the count d'Auvergne, b, v,

was not quite yet discouraged from his attempts upon the king of England: he was still in the court of the elector Palatine, whom he advised to build a citadel upon the ground which divided his territories from France, for the defence, he said, of the true religion; and had the boldness, without asking his majesty's leave, to solicit Erard, his first engineer, to come and draw the plan of this fortress for him. To serve his ambition every thing seemed lawful, and sacred as well as profane things were prostituted to that purpose. He published a writing this year, in which he exclaimed, in a most outrageous manner, against the whole body of the protestants: he had already drawn great advantages from this stratagem, and seconded it on his side by counterfeiting perfectly well great uneasiness and apprehension of the miseries which hung over the protestants, in consequence of the new resolutions that were taken by the council of France, to whom he attributed these libels. However, it was no difficult matter to prove, that they had been composed by his friends, and sent into England with a view to hinder his majesty from succeeding in his endeavours to gain king James: but it was upon weak and hot-headed persons that Bouillon always imposed; and on them indeed his pains were not all cast away. An assembly of protestants was held at Saumur and Poitou, on occasion of the king's last indisposition, in which Du-Plessis extolled this duke in a manner not only ridiculous, but likewise insolent and presumptuous; for the praises he gave his hero seemed to be all at the king's expence, whom he calumniated without any respect to his person or dignity.

Of all these assemblies, none made so much noise as that which was held at Gap, the latter end of this year. The elector Palatine, and the duke of Bouillon, by their letters and creatures, caused questions to be proposed in it which had a strong tendency to the rekindling a war. The minister Ferrier, by their orders

orders, used his utmost endeavours to prevail upon the protestants to insert amongst their articles of confession, that the pope is the antichrist: surely it could not be called a spirit of religion, but rather of discord and intrigue, that presided at the decision of this ridiculous tenet, which they likewise proposed to send printed to all the universities of Europe. As soon as the king was informed of this scandalous proceeding, he sent me orders from Fontainebleau, where he had resided since his return from Normandy, to put a stop to the licentiousness of the protestants, and, above all, to hinder this new article of faith † from being received. Villeroi likewise, by his commands, pressed me to exert myself on this occasion. I wrote immediately to Saint-Germain ‡ and Desbordes; and whether it was owing to the arguments I made use of to shew them the folly of their conduct, or the advice I gave them not to irritate Henry, who they saw was resolved not to spare them, I know not, but the article in question was at length suppressed. The pope, I believe, was under great apprehensions about it; for he was so extremely enraged, that it was with difficulty his majesty could appease him: and probably it was to this incident, that the jesuits owed their re-establishment in France. The holy father had the consolation to see his dominions filled with an accession of monks of every kind, Augustins reformed, Recolets, barefooted Carmelites, ignorant fryars; and amongst the other sex, capuchin nuns, folietans, and carmelites: so many religious orders were never instituted at one time as in this year.

The boldness of the protestants, on this occasion, will not appear so surprizing, if it be considered that they had even gone greater lengths upon another,

† See the life of Du-Plessis-Mornay, b. ii. p. 296, where we find the steps taken by de Mornay, to procure the reception of this absurd tenet.

‡ Deputies from the calvinist party to reside at court, according to the custom of that time.

when they were insolent enough to offer their mediation to the king, in favour of certain foreign princes with whom he had reason to be dissatisfied. I was continually repeating to them, that those rebellious proceedings would fall heavy upon them one day or other, and that they would groan for them a long time: but they had prophets whose predictions were far more agreeable to them than mine. Bouillon, La Tremouille, Lesdiguières, and Du-Plessis, to render my representations ineffectual, and myself the object of their hatred, insinuated every where, that I sacrificed, on all occasions, that very religion for which I pretended so much zeal; and that, by this practice, I enriched myself with wealth and preferment, to which other men had a better claim: nor did the Papists, except perhaps a very few, consider themselves as at all obliged to me for that which I did upon principles of pure equity; for by the malignity of my stars, or the invidiousness of my place, I must honestly own I lost my labour.

WHILE these complaints of the protestants against me ran highest, I went one day to his majesty, with an intention to make him such representations as would secure me against the effects of their malice. The king was then in a gallery near his chamber, walking with the duke of Montpensier, cardinal Joyeuse, and the duke of Epemon: he made me a sign to approach, and asked me whether I could guess the subject of his conversation with those three gentlemen. I answered only with a bow. "We were talking," said the king, of the government of Poitou, and they have advised me to give it to you; could you have imagined this? they being such good catholics, and you such an obstinate huguenot." I did not even know that this government was vacant. Lavardin, who was governor of Perche and Maine, had the reversion of it after the death of Malicorne, who was very aged and infirm, and intended to resign his own for it; but reflecting that
all

all his estates were situated in the provinces he was at present governor of, he released Malicorne from his engagement, and both together came to resign this government to the king, that he might dispose of it in favour of one of his natural children.

HENRY likewise insisted upon my guessing his motives for preferring me to this post, rather than any other person, or those even that were so near to him. I had nothing to alledge, but the knowledge his majesty had of my fidelity and ardour for his service. The king replied, that his true reason for giving it me, was, because I was an huguenot, but a reasonable one, and zealous for the good of my country; that the protestants beholding me in this light, could not but be highly satisfied with his choice; and that he did not doubt but that his whole kingdom would be no less so, since I was capable of inspiring them with more dutiful sentiments, of giving them just notions of their king, and of teaching them to rely on his goodness, and to respect and love his person; and that, by suffering the gratuities which he granted to the principal members of this body to pass through my hands, the authority which the duke of Bouillon still preserved amongst them might be destroyed. He majesty added (without doubt because these three gentlemen, who were also joined by Brisac, Ornano, and Roquelaure, were present) that although he felt so strong an affection for his religion, as to wish with the utmost ardour to see it embraced by all the huguenots, and by me in particular, yet he could never forget that God had made use of that body, and of the cities of Rochelle, Bergerae, and Montauban, especially, to free him from the oppression of Spain, to assist him in supporting his just claims, and to save even his life from the fury of the leaguers; that, on this account, however discontented he might be with those cities for discovering less duty and affection for him than formerly, yet nevertheless he thought himself obliged in honour, to con-

tinue the same gratuities he had always allowed them for their fortifications and colleges. The king repeated several instances which the province of Poitou had hitherto given, of its inviolable attachment to its lawful prince, “when no Bouillon, said he, “was there to excite them to sedition;” and could not hinder himself from saying, that, at this very time, the welfare of the kingdom depended upon maintaining a peace with the protestants.

AFTER this, his majesty told me, that I might treat directly with messieurs de Lavardin and Malicorne, repeating, that it was more for the interest of the state, and therefore more agreeable to his inclinations, to give this government to me, than to his own children. All that were present said something in approbation of what his majesty had done, and praise of me; and I made my acknowledgment to all, either in words or by low bows. I dispatched Montmartin immediately to Lavardin and Malicorne; and he transacted the business with such prudence, that, by a seasonable present of a thousand crowns to those whose advice they took in this affair, I got this government from them for twenty thousand crowns. Upon their resignation, Du-Fresne sent me, on the sixteenth of December, the patents for the government of Poitou, Châtelleraudois, Loudunois, &c. This made my revenue from governments amount to thirty thousand livres; namely, twelve thousand livres from the governments of Mante and Gergeau, which I already possessed, and were both very lucrative for private governments, especially Gergeau, on account of the garrisons; and eighteen thousand livres from that of Poitou: in this sum, however, I have always included my salaries for the two posts of superintendant of the fortifications, and of the works.

I MUST not omit giving some account of the attempts that were made this year in France, to establish the stuff manufactures, and especially silk ones. Henry, who was carried with ardour to every thing
which

which in his opinion could contribute to the glory and utility of the kingdom, suffered himself to be persuaded, by Les Bourgs and Des Cumans, that it was a mighty easy matter not only to supply silks for our home consumption, which used to be brought from foreign countries and distant regions, but also to carry on a considerable trade with foreigners for this merchandise. For this purpose, all that is necessary, said they, is to give encouragement to silk weavers to come amongst us, to increase the breed of silkworms, plant mulberry-trees, and erect large buildings fit for these sort of manufactures. I exclaimed loudly against this scheme, which I never approved: but the king was so prejudiced in favour of it, that all my remonstrances were ineffectual.

I REMEMBER that one day, when his majesty did me the honour to visit me at the arsenal, to confer with me upon the necessary methods for establishing these manufactures, which could not be done without a great expence, we had a pretty warm debate about it. "I know not," said he to me, finding I received all the proposals he made me on this subject, with that reserve and coldness which I always assumed when I was not in his opinion. "I know not, what whim this is that you have taken in your head, to oppose a scheme so well calculated to enrich and embellish the kingdom, to root out idleness from among the people, and which I should find so much satisfaction in completing." I replied, that this last reason had so much weight with me, that, if I could see the least probability of succeeding in the schemes for a silk manufacture, I should content myself with representing to his majesty that he would purchase this satisfaction at rather too high a price, and destroy by it that which he proposed to himself in the execution of those great designs, which, by his command, I had mentioned to the king of England; but that I entreated him not to be offended with me, if I presumed to tell him,

that I could not, as he did, see either glory or utility resulting from this establishment. I then asked him, if he would permit me to give him my reasons for thinking so differently from him. "I give you leave," said he, but upon condition that you afterwards hear mine, which, I am persuaded, are more convincing than yours." I then made the following observations to his majesty.

THAT it was through a wise dispensation of Providence, which designed that all the nations of the earth, or of one continent, should be obliged by their common necessities to have an intercourse with each other, that this country was fitted to produce one thing, and that another, exclusively of all the rest: France had the good fortune to be so favourably distinguished in this distribution of benefits, that no country probably, except Egypt, so universally abounded with whatever supplied the necessities, or contributed merely to the conveniencies of life, to the rest of the world: her corn, grain, and pulse, her wine, cyders, flax, hemp, salt, wood, oil, dying drugs, that immense quantity of cattle, great and small, which usually serve her inhabitants for food, putting her in a condition not only to envy none of her neighbours on the score of any of these advantages, but even to dispute with them those which make up all the trade they carry on: Spain, Italy, and Sicily, are of this number.

It is certain that her climate refuses silk; the spring begins too late, and an excessive moisture almost always prevails; and this inconvenience, which is absolutely irremediable, affects not only the silkworms, which, on this account, are hatched with great difficulty, but likewise the mulberry-trees that these insects feed upon; for which a mild and temperate air is necessary in the season wherein they put forth their leaves. The difficulty of multiplying them in a country where none ever grew, cannot but be very great: it will be five years at least before there

can

can be any certainty of their coming to perfection ; during which we risk the loss of time, labour, and the produce of the ground they are planted in. But are these difficulties, which ought to dissuade us from engaging in an enterprize, the success of which they do not render doubtful but impossible, a real loss to us ? That is the question.

A COUNTRY life affords so many various labours and employments, that in France none need be idle but those who resolve against all work ; therefore it is necessary to begin, by curing people of this lazy disposition, which, if real, is the only thing worthy of attention. But how is this done by offering them the culture of silk for an employment ? first they leave one profession, which brings them in a certain and sufficient income, for another, where their gains are casual and doubtful. It would not indeed be very difficult to make them prefer this to the former, because it is but too natural to quit a hard and laborious kind of life, such as agriculture is, considered in its full extent, for one that, like working upon silk, does not fatigue the body by any violent motion. But even this is another argument to prove the dangerous consequences of suffering the country people to be thus employed : it has been a common observation at all times and in all places, that the best soldiers are found amongst the families of robust, laborious, and nervous workmen : if, instead of these, we enlist men who are brought up to no other labour than what a child, if taught it, has strength to perform, we shall be soon convinced they are no longer fit for the military art, which requires, as I have often heard his majesty himself observe, a strong constitution, confirmed by laborious exercises, that tend to maintain in its full vigour the whole strength and force of the body. And this military art, the situation of France, and the nature of her politics, make it absolutely necessary to hinder from degenerating or being depressed.

AT the same time that we enervate the country people, who in every respect are the true supporters of the state, among those of the city we introduce luxury, with all her train of mischiefs, effeminacy, sloth, voluptuousness, and that domestic extravagancy which it is not to be feared that people who have but little, and know how to be satisfied with that little, will ever plunge into. In France we have already too many of these useless citizens, who under habits glittering with gold and embroidery, conceal the manners of weak women.

THE objection, that immense sums of money are carried out of France into foreign countries for the support of this luxury, proves the truth of what I have just observed, and destroys the inference they pretend to draw from it: would they reason justly upon the inconveniency that arises from this commerce, and this importation of vain and unnecessary merchandizes, they would be convinced, that the best thing that could be done, would be to suppress the use of them entirely, and absolutely prohibit their being brought into France; at the same time to fix, by good and severe regulations, the richness of cloaths and furniture; and to put every thing of this kind upon the same footing as they were in the reigns of Lewis XI. Charles VIII. and Lewis XII†. That necessity which obliges us to dress in one sort.

† Many edicts of this kind were issued at different times during the reign of Henry IV. against which the dealers in silk at Paris presented many useless remonstrances to the king and M. de Rosny. The Memoirs for the history of France relate in what manner that minister received the sieur Henriot, who spoke for them, a good old merchant, whose manners and dress bore the marks of the simplicity and plainness of the tradesmen of former times. --- "The next day, says the writer of these Memoirs, they waited on M. de Sully, who answered them only with disdain and ridicule; for Henriot having put one knee to the ground, that nobleman immediately raised him up; and having turned him round, the better to survey his old-fashioned dress, being a short holyday-gown, lined with taffety, his jacket and the rest of his cloaths ornamented with silks of different kinds, in the manner they were formerly wore by merchants, he said to him, Honest friend, what reason can you and your company have to complain, when you are much finer than I am? Is not
" this

of stuffs rather than another, is the mere vice of fancy; and the price that is set upon them, an evil we fall into with full conviction. Were we to consider, though but with the slightest attention, the source of what is called the fashion, we should find, to our shame and confusion, that a small number of persons, and those the most despicable of a great city, which incloses all sorts indifferently within her walls, for whom, if we were acquainted with them, we should feel that contempt we have for men without morals, or that compassion we have for fools, that these very men dispose nevertheless of our purses, and keep us enslaved to their caprices.

BUT silk cloaths are not the only things which require reformation by the royal power; there is as much to be done with respect to diamonds, jewels, statues, and pictures, if it be considered as a grievance, that foreigners take away our gold and silver: we must likewise take into consideration, equipages, kitchen-furniture, moveables, and every thing in which these metals are made use of. If we reflect upon the amazing extravagance that prevails in France, the sums squandered foolishly in gardens, buildings, costly works, entertainments, liquors, and what not; if we think on the exorbitant price paid for offices, of marriages set up to auction, what is there that wants no reformation? We cannot charge to foreign manufactures the tenth part of the money that is thrown away in France, without the least necessity. The care which the law and the finances would require, would engage us in an endless digression: these two bodies of men, of which the one ought to be the guardians of regularity, and the other of parsimony, seem only to have been brought into the world, to destroy both the one and the other. These are the only people that know what it is to be

"this damask, this taffety? &c. And after turning them into ridicule sent them away without giving them any other satisfaction;
"which made them say, as they were returning, The servant is
"ruder and haughtier than his master." Vol. II. p. 278.

rich; and how they come by this wealth, may be seen by the manner in which they spend it: the old chancellors, first presidents, counsellors of state, and the heads of the courts and revenues, if they were to come into the world again, would not know how to find those who now fill their places, and resemble them in nothing but their titles †.

I SAID every thing I could think of on this subject, that carried with it any force, to bring the king over to my opinion; but I could not prevail. "Your arguments are very strong," said he to me; and I "would rather chuse to fight the king of Spain in

† Though silk, and other materials of luxury, are in strictness no otherwise good or bad, than according to the good or bad use made of them; yet, as it is really more common to apply them to bad than to good purposes, the good intention of the author, and the purity of his morals, cannot be sufficiently praised. The rigid defenders of the christian doctrines do, and always will, espouse his sentiments: but it must be acknowledged, that the politicians of the present times, even those who are most severe, think differently: they find nothing conclusive in those examples of antiquity which are produced against luxury, even in respect to the times from which they are taken, much less in regard to the present. According to their opinion, other causes brought about those revolutions which were attributed to it; which causes having now lost their force, such revolutions do not, nor can they happen again: the increase of gold and silver in Europe, occasioned by the mines of those metals discovered in America, and whence this part of the world has been enriched within the last two centuries, has introduced by its natural consequence luxury or superfluity, which makes the necessary exchange against the redundancy of money, otherwise an useless drug. This has entirely changed the face of Europe, unavoidably influenced the systems of government, and left no means of aggrandizing any state except by commerce, which opens every inlet to luxury; no inconveniences arise from hence, till it exceeds what the profits of commerce will afford: besides, experience demonstrates more clearly than reasoning can, that it is not at all incompatible, either with order, subordination, or a military spirit.

As to what relates to silk, should we even suppose with M. de Sully, that France is improper to produce it, his manner of reasoning will nevertheless be imperfect, as he seems to have been ignorant how much the manufacture adds to the value of the original materials, and of what advantage that is to the kingdom. If any one should still remain unconvinced of this truth, he ought to be sent for conviction to our manufactures of silk at Lyons, Tours, &c. and in spite of what our author says in this place, the establishment of the manufactures of stuffs of all kinds, which was begun in the reign of Henry IV. will always compel us to speak in praise of him. See on this article, *L'Essai politique sur le commerce*, chap. 9. p. 105, second edit. 1736.

“ three pitched battles, than engage all these people of the law, the offices, and the city especially, their wives and daughters, whom you have brought upon my back, with all your whimsical regulations.” “ Then it is your pleasure, Sire,” replied I, that I should speak to you no more upon this subject: however, time and experience will convince you, that France is not fitted for these gewgaws.” I was obliged to content myself with endeavouring only to prevail upon the king to alter his intention of taking the Tournelles, and that whole enclosure for the new buildings he projected for his silk manufactories. I represented to him, that he would one day destroy what it would cost him so much to build, and brought to his remembrance, that once, when he was laying with me the foundations of a design, far more noble and just, the Tournelles had been destined for another building of a very different kind†. “ As things shall fall out,” replied Henry; and this was all I could get from him. He followed Zamet, who came to tell him, that the dinner he had ordered to be prepared for him at his house, was ready.

It was not, I confess, without deep regret, that I saw such large sums of money squandered, which might have been employed to so many useful purposes. I made a calculation of the expence Henry was commonly at every year, in buildings, in play, for his mistresses, and hounds, and found that it amounted to twelve hundred thousand crowns, a sum sufficient to maintain a body of fifteen thousand foot: I could not, though I risked the danger of losing his affection, be silent upon this subject. He commanded me to give six thousand livres to madam

† The building here meant, was intended to be a magnificent square, of seventy-two fathom on every side, which was to be called the *square of France*; eight streets were to have opened into it, of eight toises in breadth, bearing the names of so many provinces. The design for it was made in 1608, but the death of Henry IV. put a stop to the execution of it: under the following reign it was executed in part, and was called the *royal square*.

THE UNIVERSITY OF CHICAGO PRESS

de Verneuil, too happy once more to purchase; at this price, that domestic quiet which was so often interrupted by his wife and his mistress: but fortunately for him, he escaped any broils this year. It was the current report at Fontainebleau, and for a long time believed, that the queen was again with child, but it was afterwards found to be a mistake; which the king did me the honour to inform me of.

THE colony that was sent to Canada this year, was among the number of those things that had not my approbation, there was no kind of riches to be expected from all those countries of the new world, which are beyond the fortieth degree of latitude. His majesty gave the conduct of this expedition to the sieur Du-Mont †.

† See in the Septenary, the description of a voyage made to Canada by the sieur Du-Mont. There is also a relation of the manners of the inhabitants of this part of the new world; but it is very unfaithful, and filled with fables. M. de Sully is again mistaken in this point; our new colonies are a proof of it. We refer for a further account of this matter to *L'Essai politique sur le commerce*.

Liberty and protection, these two words which comprehend the only true means of bringing the internal commerce of a nation into a flourishing state, may, in another sense, be applied to the trade carried on to the two Indies; that is to say, as the author of these *Memoirs* remarks, that none of the trading nations of Europe should be excluded from it, but that it should be indiscriminately shared amongst them all; and that the method of carrying it on to the most general advantage, is by exclusive privileges, granted not to private persons, but to whole companies, acting under the name, and by the authority of the king.

I ought not to forget observing here, that the first company for carrying on a trade to the East-Indies was established in France, under the reign of Henry IV. and in the year after his death. It was formed by a Fleming, called Gerard-le-Roy. The edict of this establishment, which bears date the first of June 1604, grants many exemptions and privileges to this company: the fifth and sixth articles are something remarkable, it being therein said, that gentlemen might become members of this company, without derogation to their gentility. The difficulty of procuring the necessary funds, the disunion amongst the members, and all the other causes, which have so often since occasioned the destruction of this institution, prevented its having the proposed effect at that time: it was reserved for the celebrated M. Colbert, to place it on a more solid and durable basis.

